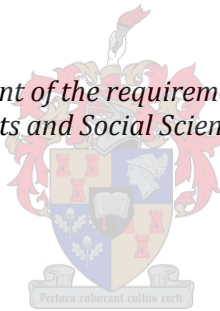


# **The Location Shall Be Called Kaya Mandi: A History of Kaya Mandi**

By  
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*Thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts  
(History) in the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences at Stellenbosch University*



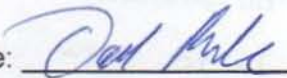
Supervisor: Prof. Albert Grundlingh

December 2011

## Declaration

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## Abstract

Throughout South Africa there has been a greater emphasis on township history in recent years. However little has been written about the townships of the Western Cape. This research about the history of Kaya Mandi is subsequently one of the first of its kind and provides unique insights into a world that has not garnered much attention. Due to the fact that there has been little research done on the subject, a considerable amount of information was gathered through archival research. Additionally, oral testimonies of individuals who, in some cases, have lived their entire lives in Kaya Mandi have been invaluable. Books, theses and articles were primarily used as guidelines to provide additional context and understanding within the greater picture of South African history. The only exception was the use of the master's thesis, *Bantoegezinne in Kaya Mandi*, done by Cornelia Drotske in 1956 which provided information from that period. As a result of this research the history of Kaya Mandi may be regarded as much more complex than had previously been assumed. Kaya Mandi has not just been a passive location in the Western Cape subject to the whims of those in power. Instead, they struggled to maintain their culture and often their very existence. At times this meant a battle between the people and the local government and other times it meant a battle from within, between the different segments of Kaya Mandi itself. Researching the history of Kaya Mandi provided an understanding of how it came to be what it is today. It also gave a deeper comprehension of the current issues and situations facing the people. This is especially important for making informed decisions regarding necessary development and expansion. Overall Kaya Mandi is a microcosm of township life in the Western Cape and the current research has highlighted the complexity of these communities and the necessity for further research.

## Opsomming

Oor die afgelope paar jaar is daar regoor Suid-Afrika groter klem op die geskiedenis van townships. Daar is egter min geskryf oor die townships van die Wes-Kaap. Hierdie tesis oor die geskiedenis van Kaya Mandi is gevolglik een van die eerstes van sy soort en bied 'n unieke insig in 'n wêreld wat nie voorheen veel aandag gekry het nie. As gevolg van die min navorsing oor die onderwerp, is 'n groot deel van die inligting ingesamel deur argivale navorsing. Daarbenewens was die mondelinge getuienisse van individue wat, in sommige gevalle, feitlik vanaf die begin van Kaya Mandi daar geleef het van onskatbare waarde. Boeke, tesse, en artikels is hoofsaaklik gebruik as riglyne om bykomende konteks en begrip binne die groter prentjie van die Suid-Afrikaanse geskiedenis te verskaf. Die enigste uitsondering is die gebruik van die M-tesis van 1956, Bantoegesinne in Kaya Mandi deur Cornelia Drotské, wat 'n groot hoeveelheid inligting uit daardie tydperk verskaf het. Uit die navorsing het dit geblyk dat die geskiedenis van Kaya Mandi baie meer kompleks is as wat voorheen veronderstel is. Kaya Mandi was nie net 'n passiewe lokasie in die Wes-Kaap, onderdanig aan die grille van diegene in beheer nie. In teendeel, hulle het gesukkel om hulle manier van lewe, hul kultuur en, in sommige gevalle, hul voortbestaan in stand te hou. Soms was dit 'n stryd tussen die inwoners en die plaaslike regering en ander kere was dit 'n stryd tussen die verskillende segmente van binne Kaya Mandi. Hierdie ondersoek oor die geskiedenis van Kaya Mandi bied meer insig oor hoe dit ontwikkel tot wat dit vandag is. Dit gee ook 'n dieper begrip van die huidige probleme en situasies wat die mense in die gesig staar. Dit is veral belangrik om ingeligte besluite te neem met betrekking tot noodsaaklike ontwikkeling en uitbreiding. Grootliks is Kaya Mandi in baie opsigte 'n mikrokosmos van die township-lewe in die Wes-Kaap. Die huidige ondersoek belig die kompleksiteit van hierdie gemeenskappe en die noodsaaklikheid van verdere navorsing.

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Figure 1: Map of Modern Day Stellenbosch<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Stellenbosch Street Map" Stellenbosch Municipality, WEB. 20 Apr. 2010.  
[http://www.stellenbosch.gov.za/staticpages/stel\\_map.html](http://www.stellenbosch.gov.za/staticpages/stel_map.html).



## Introduction:

There has been very little written on the history of Kaya Mandi. In fact there has been very little written about townships within the Western Cape. It has generally been assumed that smaller townships in the Western Cape had been relatively absent from much of the struggle against apartheid and therefore avoided many of the difficulties associated with it. This made these smaller townships less attractive for historical researchers. While it is true that Kaya Mandi had never been at the forefront of the South African politics, it has had its own dynamics as a smaller township. This study hopes to highlight these dynamics.

Beginning in the 1980s there has been a long-standing tradition of research at the University of the Witwatersrand focusing on townships such as Soweto. This can be represented by the books, Town and Countryside in the Transvaal (1983) and Class, Community, and Conflict (1987), edited by Belinda Bozzoli. These two books focused primarily on township life in and around Johannesburg and were at the forefront of a trend that culminated in Soweto: A History (1998), by Phillip Bonner and Lauren Segal. Continuing this trend, Alexandra: A History (2008) by Phillip Bonner and Noor Nieftagodien represents one of the most contemporary studies on this subject.

Since the work of Bonner and Segal, Soweto itself has drawn considerable attention for its unique position in South African history. Soweto is one of the largest townships in South Africa and featured prominently in the struggle against apartheid. Consequently, Soweto produced many important political figures which have provided great impetus for research. At the same time no township in the Western Cape had the influence on South African politics in the way Soweto had. However, the Western Cape and small townships such as Kaya Mandi should not be ignored.

Langa, officially opened in 1927, is in the Western Cape and the oldest township in South Africa.<sup>2</sup> Despite this fact, there has been little historical research done on Langa or any of the other townships around Cape Town. The work that has been conducted in the Western Cape, mainly initiated by academics from the University of Cape Town such as Christopher Saunders, has largely focused on the origins of Langa or specific subjects. It is therefore understandable that Western Cape townships need to be researched more.

To date no comprehensive work has been done about the history of Kaya Mandi. The recently published book by Sylvain Cubizolles, Le Football en Afrique du Sud: Vecu d'un Township au Cap Occidental did considerable work on soccer within Kaya Mandi but did not focus on the broader historical trends. Additionally, Sokker op Stellenbosch by Hilton Biscombe, briefly mentioned soccer in Kaya Mandi but was limited in its scope. Both were published in 2010 and the focus on soccer was reflective of the hype created by the FIFA World Cup.

There is only one formal work written on the history of Kaya Mandi prior to the 1980s, a master's thesis in anthropology published in 1956. The lack of previous material is surprising given the proximity of Kaya Mandi to Stellenbosch University. This university, however, played an important role in the development of apartheid, which may account for the little work that has been done. Given the previous alignment of the university with apartheid and the few histories on Black society and politics which emanated from the history department during the 1980s, the assumption may have been that Kaya Mandi was not regarded as worthy of historical study.

Kaya Mandi has a much longer history than most people realize and even more tumultuous than is often assumed. Although Kaya Mandi was established in 1941 its history had really started more than two decades

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<sup>2</sup> Christopher Saunders, "The Creation of Ndabeni: Urban Segregation and African Resistance in Cape Town." Studies in the History of Cape Town, ed. Christopher Saunders, (Centre for African Studies: University of Cape Town, 1984) 186.

earlier and *A History of Kaya Mandi* is largely an attempt to provide the framework of the major events, moments and individuals covering nearly 100 years of development. In doing so it will clarify why and how Kaya Mandi has developed into its current state.

The entire history of Kaya Mandi may be broken down into four general stages. The first stage was from approximately 1900 to 1941 and covers the origins of Kaya Mandi. This period was characterized by the development from an isolated population of farm workers to the first Black 'area' by 1918, followed by the development of the Du Toitville housing scheme in the 1920s and, finally, the build-up to the establishment of Kaya Mandi in the late 1930s to early 1940s.

The second period spans from 1941 to 1953. It was during this period that Kaya Mandi was established and expanded. The residents were predominantly families and single male workers brought to Kaya Mandi specifically to work on the farms or factories of Stellenbosch. It was also during this period that the first superintendent, H.D.R. Blok, ran Kaya Mandi.

The period from 1953 to 1980 represents the third stage of Kaya Mandi's history. This era was characterized by an increasing number of restrictions, especially in terms of family housing and the deportation of women. An increase in the development of the single quarters and the 1960 pass law riots. Due to the restrictions placed on the population of Kaya Mandi there was very little growth in population during this era.

The final stage of Kaya Mandi dates from 1980 to the present. The early 1980s marked the start of the trends that have come to define township life in Kaya Mandi. This meant steady increases in population, political reform, violence and the degradation of community life. It also marked the shift from Kaya Mandi being a location to being a township.

The locations that developed did so under the control of local municipalities. That is the defining characteristic. Kaya Mandi, being a location, is then also

what differentiates it from a place like Alexandra outside Johannesburg. In today's vernacular Alexandra is considered to be a township just like Kaya Mandi, but it was developed as a freehold township and subsequently followed a very different path.<sup>3</sup> Townships today are generalized as slums dominated by the abundance of informal housing, unsanitary conditions, high levels of unemployment and general poverty. The early development of Kaya Mandi did not necessarily subscribe to these difficult conditions. In the beginning Black families in Kaya Mandi were certainly poorer than their White neighbours but life was bearable.

It is also impossible to ignore the role that apartheid played in the development of Kaya Mandi. Apartheid, the National Party's political platform of 1948, was not singularly based on the concept of racism. It was, as Hermann Giliomee described, merely one of five pillars. According to him the five pillars were those of republicanism, populism, community, culture and racism.<sup>4</sup> Although racism was just one aspect, it was the one that dominated the way the others were achieved. It also was one of the key reasons that African nationalism and politics developed the way it did. Blacks were eager to overturn the rule of the minority that repressed and dehumanized them. They did this through the formation of political parties to represent their needs; most famously the ANC, but also the PAC and numerous others. These parties did not always dominate the lives of all Kaya Mandi residents. Specific circumstances, however, and most notably the 1960 PAC led pass law protests and subsequent riots, made it impossible not to be involved on some level.

Due to apartheid it is difficult not to look at the history of South Africa through the lenses of Black and White. It is a very observable, concrete way of thinking. The history of Kaya Mandi cannot be excluded from this pedagogy.

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<sup>3</sup> Philip Bonner, and Noor Nieftagodien, Alexandra: A History, (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2008) 17-21.

<sup>4</sup> Herman Giliomee, "Rediscovering and Re-imaging the Afrikaners in a New South Africa," An Apartheid of Souls, eds. Deborah James and Albert Schrauwers, (Leiden: Grafaria, 2004) 13.

However, it is by no means the only one. It had often been the social-economic trends within the community of Kaya Mandi itself that brought greater tension. An example of this was the distinction between being one of the original families compared to being a single labourer or a recent migrant. These distinctions had profoundly lasting effects on the structure and living standards of individuals within Kaya Mandi.

Today Kaya Mandi outwardly seems to speak with one voice but it would be incorrect to say that Kaya Mandi has acted as a homogenized body at all times in the past. In fact Kaya Mandi was and still is often divided along socio-economic lines more than anything else. These differences in the contemporary sense have been the most divisive.

Since the establishment of Kaya Mandi in 1941 the residents of Kaya Mandi have had similar experiences as those in many urban black areas throughout South Africa. The lack of available housing in Kaya Mandi today is common amongst all townships. Interestingly, the housing problem is not a new one. It is one that goes back almost 60 years. Over that time the families of Kaya Mandi have faced the pressures of forced removals, overcrowding, declining living conditions and increased levels of crime. However, there has always been a sense of pride in their community which allowed the community of Kaya Mandi to survive.

## Chapter 1: The origins of Kaya Mandi

Although Kaya Mandi was formally established in 1941 its origins may be found in the accelerated expansion of Stellenbosch after 1920. This expansion was characterized by industrialization and population growth which had largely eluded Stellenbosch prior to the 1920s.<sup>5</sup> It was this industrialization that resulted in a higher demand for low and semi-skilled labour, which attracted Black individuals who had largely been migrating towards Cape Town in search of jobs.<sup>6</sup> Prior to the establishment of Kaya Mandi these Black individuals did not all live in one designated area. This was due to several factors.

Firstly, during the early 1900s there had not been the kind of compulsory legislation that was later seen in the form of the Native (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 and the Group Areas Act of 1950. These acts clearly designated where people could or could not live. Secondly, it was easier for individuals to live on or near the farms or factories where they worked because transportation was difficult. These farms and factories were often relatively spread out, creating isolated pockets of individuals and families.<sup>7</sup> Finally, the most substantial reason for the lack of centralized housing for Blacks was the relative size of the population. In 1911 one census indicated just 29 Blacks in Stellenbosch.<sup>8</sup> By 1920 the population was still very small and limited to just a few hundred spread out over a fairly large distance, but increasing. At that time Blacks made up just between two and three percent of the total population of Stellenbosch.

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<sup>5</sup> Barnie Barnard, Introducing Stellenbosch: Natural, Rural, and Urban Landscapes. (Stellenbosch: Centre for Geographical Analysis, 2004) 20-21.

<sup>6</sup> Songo Fipaza, Personal Interview, 01/10/2009. Songo is a life long resident of Kaya Mandi born in 1975. He has worked as a tour guide, and with many charitable organisations over the years.

<sup>7</sup> WC Archive 3/STB, Vol. 4/1/120, Report of Inspection at Stellenbosch, 4 Aug. 1938.

<sup>8</sup> Cornelia Drotske, Bantoegeesinne in Kaya Mandi. M.A. Thesis (Stellenbosch University: Stellenbosch, 1956) 16.



Subsequently the first formal proposal to house Blacks in one location in Stellenbosch was in 1921.<sup>9</sup> The idea that a municipality would take on the responsibility of housing their Black populations was a relatively new concept. Langa was later established by the municipality of Cape Town in 1927<sup>10</sup> and in Johannesburg there was very limited municipal housing.<sup>11</sup>

The idea of formal governmental or municipal housing for Blacks was in its infancy in the 1920s. Soweto, arguably South Africa's most famous township, was not even formed yet. While there were 105,000 Blacks in Johannesburg in 1919, very few were housed by the government or local municipalities. Of those 105,000 approximately half were housed by mining companies, approximately another 30,000 lived on their employers' premises, mainly as domestic workers, and only about 4,000 lived in municipal areas. One of these locations was Klipspruit, the town that was the origin for what would eventually be called Soweto. The remaining individuals lived in slum conditions that were exasperated by high population growth. What was most striking about the slums during this time in Johannesburg was the relative mix of individuals. The slums were not just inhabited by Africans but also by Indians, Coloureds, Chinese, and Whites. The racial mixing and fear of crime, in part, gave rise to the Native (Urban Areas) Act in 1923, which was aimed to remove Blacks from urban slums and essentially named local authorities as responsible for each of their respective Black populations. It was these fears that gave rise to a place like Orlando, established in 1931 to house Blacks away from White urban areas. Today Orlando is situated in the heart of Soweto.<sup>12</sup>

Alexandra, also outside of Johannesburg, followed its own unique route because it was originally designed as a freehold township. This distinction allowed for Africans and Coloureds to purchase land. Similar to other areas

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<sup>9</sup> WC Archives 3/STB, Vol. 4/1/120, Letter from Town Clerk to the Provincial Secretary, 23 Feb. 1921.

<sup>10</sup> Saunders, *The Creation of Ndabeni*, 186.

<sup>11</sup> Philip Bonner, and Lauren Segal, Soweto: A History, (Johannesburg: Maskew Miller Longman, 1998) 12-15.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid*, 14.

around Johannesburg there was an influx of individuals moving off farmland and into urban settings at this time. This was due to a variety of reasons. Economic hardship was one of the most dominant factors that pushed individuals into cities. This was in part the result of prolonged drought that saw many farmers unable to make ends meet. However, there were also successful sharecroppers and labour tenants who had been forced off their land by Whites, but had earned enough money to purchase property. These individuals were often forced off their land due to legislation, such as the Native Land Bill of 1913. That made it increasingly difficult for African farmers to own land.<sup>13</sup> These factors caused the population of Alexandra to rise from between 4,000 and 5,000 in 1924 to between 10,000 and 15,000 in 1936. The housing of these individuals was largely the task of the privately owned Alexandra Township Company and individual renters, because the government wanted little to do with it.<sup>14</sup>

Within the Western Cape, despite Langa only being formed in 1927, the city of Cape Town had a longer history of formalized housing than any other part of South Africa. By 1899 the municipality of Cape Town was already planning a location to house its Black residents. The desire to do this was brought on by increased immigration of Blacks to Cape Town and the unease Whites associated with it. The problem for Whites was that at the time there had been no legislation in place that allowed them to forcibly relocate anyone. However, in February 1901 plague struck the docks where many Blacks were living. As a result, under the Public Health Amendment of 1897, which allowed for the use of force in order to remove any necessary individuals to combat disease, people were moved to Uitvlugt almost immediately. The Uitvlugt site was owned by the government and just a mile from the Maitland station allowing for the easy transport of labour. By March there were over 5,000 people in the location and by June there were 7,000. In 1902 Uitvlugt was renamed Ndabeni.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Bonner and Nieftagodien, *Alexandra: A History*, 17-21.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid*, 41.

<sup>15</sup> Saunders, *The Creation of Ndabeni*. 165-187.

Following the development of Ndabeni the same patterns that preceded it emerged again. Following World War I Blacks increasingly migrated to Cape Town. This was motivated by better economic conditions following the war and resulted in overcrowding in Ndabeni. The situation in Ndabeni, having suffered through an influenza outbreak in 1918, again raised questions about the increasingly slum-like conditions. By 1922 land was set aside by the government for the development of a new location and in 1923 residents of Ndabeni named it Langa, which is short for Langalibalele, a man from Natal who was imprisoned on Robben Island and on the site of Uitvlugt prior to it becoming a location. Additionally Langa was deemed a good name because of its royal connections and common usage amongst a variety of tribal groups, making it suitable to all. However, Langa was officially opened only in 1927 and in 1936 Ndabeni was completely demolished.<sup>16</sup>

Stellenbosch followed a similar path to that of Cape Town with regards to its Black population. Blacks living in Stellenbosch prior to the establishment of Kaya Mandi were not as numerous as those living in Johannesburg or Cape Town. The total population of Stellenbosch by 1921 was just 7,300, of which 50% were Whites, 47% Coloureds, and 2% to 3% Blacks.<sup>17</sup> What does stand out is that the local government began intervening very early in terms of housing even though the Black population was in the vast minority. Stellenbosch did not nearly experience the same influx of Blacks as that of Cape Town but seemed to follow in line with its decisions.

The majority of the Black population in Stellenbosch was spread out on farms prior to the 1920s. However, by 1918 an informal settlement of Blacks began to form around modern day Adam Tas road.<sup>18</sup> This area was the site of the

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<sup>16</sup> Christopher Saunders, "From Ndabeni to Langa." Studies in the History of Cape Town, (Centre for African Studies: University of Cape Town, 1984) 194-223.

<sup>17</sup> Barnard, 3.

<sup>18</sup> Hilton Biscombe, Sokker op Stellenbosch, (Stellenbosch: SUNMeDia, 2010) 169.

Libertas Farm and subsequently Stellenbosch Farmers' Winery.<sup>19</sup> It was referred to as Mon Repos (after the homestead there) or Platteklip Location or more often by the derogatory name, Kaffir Location.<sup>20</sup> The farmers in this area were wary of the Black settlement expanding and wanted to use the land they were on for farming. So they looked to the municipality to move the individuals residing there.<sup>21</sup>

As a result of the pressure placed on the municipality to remove the individuals residing in the informal settlement, the possibility of a housing scheme in Stellenbosch was first officially mentioned in 1921. As such, 1921 marked a distinct change in attitude in Stellenbosch about the way in which the Black population should be housed. There were several additional reasons for this shift. Firstly, Stellenbosch was growing economically and was becoming increasingly industrialized. This meant that there were already signs of Black influx into Stellenbosch and the Western Cape in general.<sup>22</sup> Although the Black population was small it was expanding and was going to continue to expand. As a result of racial prejudice the Black population would also have to be controlled. Secondly, these Black workers who were migrating to the Western Cape were poor and not able to afford housing in the areas that they were moving into. This gave rise to informal settlements which the municipalities wanted to avoid.<sup>23</sup> Informal settlements were something the municipalities wanted to avoid for fear of disease, though that had historically just been used as an excuse to segregate the Black population.<sup>24</sup> This is directly comparable to the development of Uitvlugt and later that of Langa.

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<sup>19</sup> "About SFW," Stellenbosch Farmers Winery, Stellenbosch Farmers Winery, WEB. 10 Oct. 2010. <http://home.intekom.com/sfwineries/about.htm>.

<sup>20</sup> Biscombe, 169.

<sup>21</sup> Songo Fipaza, Personal Interview, 01/10/2009.; Biscombe, 169.

<sup>22</sup> Barndard 20-21.

<sup>23</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 4/1/120 Report From: Cape Town City Hall Meeting of Officials around the Cape Peninsula with the Secretary for Native Affairs, 7 May 1941.

<sup>24</sup> Maynard Swanson, "The Sanitation Syndrome: Bubonic Plague and Urban Native Policy in the Cape Colony, 1900-1909." Journal of African History, Vol. 18, No. 3, (1977), 387-410. *JSTOR*. Web. 3 Nov. 2010.

On 23 February 1921 the Town Clerk of Stellenbosch wrote to the Provincial Secretary in Cape Town to express a desire to establish a 'Native Location' and explicitly asked what the necessary measures were in constructing such a location. The administrator's office responded with a series of principle measures to be followed.<sup>25</sup>

The regulations came from the Department of Public Health and were largely just a series of guidelines to adhere to. A few examples included: no more than 20 dwellings to the morgan,<sup>26</sup> that each living room should have cross ventilation, that garbage disposals should be downwind and 500 yards away, and there should be a wash area for clothing and people.<sup>27</sup>

These regulations were clearly not designed to be a framework for establishing an entire working community, but rather to uphold standards of housing and subsequently public health. Specific attention was paid to overcrowding and sanitation. This again was probably a reflection on the outbreak of plague in 1901 in Cape Town that resulted in the formation of Ndabeni, as well as the 1918 influenza outbreak that motivated the construction of Langa. The fear was that the diseases would spread from the slums into the population at large and thus it became the basis and excuse for urban segregation.<sup>28</sup> As a result overcrowding and sanitation were officially important issues.

Following the correspondence between the municipality of Stellenbosch and the provincial government of Cape Town, construction went ahead. Local businesses that had Black labourers or were going to hire Black labourers were obliged to build and pay for the construction of the buildings. As the letter of 19 August 1921 stated, "the necessary buildings be erected by you in

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<sup>25</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 4/1/120 Letter from Town Clerk, February 23, 1921.

<sup>26</sup> A morgan, the standard unit of measure of land at this time is approximately .86 to 1 hectare.

<sup>27</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 4/1/120 Reply to Letter No. 45/7, February 1921.

<sup>28</sup> Paul Maylam, "Explaining the Apartheid City: 20 Years of South African Urban Historiography." *Journal of South African Studies* Vol. 21 No.1 (1995): 25. JSTOR. Web. 3 Nov. 2010.

accordance with the requirements of the Council's officials concerned, and that rent be paid by you at the rate of 5/- per hut (to accommodate 8 or fewer occupants) per month."<sup>29</sup> The immediate results of this communication are hard to ascertain, but by 23 February 1925, seven huts had been established. The area where these huts had been built was in what was, and still is, called the Du Toit Station area, sometimes referred to as Du Toitville.<sup>30</sup> The Du Toit section of Stellenbosch was, as it still is, on the fringe of the historical centre of Stellenbosch and near to what had developed into a largely Coloured section of town.<sup>31</sup> Figure 2 illustrates this area of Stellenbosch in 1905.

**Figure 2: Map of Stellenbosch in 1905**<sup>32</sup>



The Plankenburg River, Du Toit Station, and Kromme River are visible in the top left corner of the diagram.

There is currently an almost imperceptible shift from Stellenbosch central into the Du Toit section of town. This was not always the case as the map illustrates. The Kromme River is a natural boundary between central

<sup>29</sup> Drotske, 18-19.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid, 20.

<sup>31</sup> Barnard 21-24; WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 4/1/120, Report of Inspection at Stellenbosch, 4 Aug. 1938.

<sup>32</sup> STB Archives 14/2/2/1/27 Vol. 15, "A Gateway to Stellenbosch: Urban Design Framework & Development: Guidelines Draft Report March 2000." Department of Development and Planning Stellenbosch Municipality, KrugerRoos, March, 2000.



Stellenbosch and the Du Toit section, and the lack of development compared to central Stellenbosch meant it was both physically and psychologically on the fringe of town. This in the eyes of the municipality made it an ideal location for the first Black housing scheme.

The municipality had clearly decided what was going to happen regarding the growing Black population. Everyone within the Stellenbosch community, however, did not hold a similar opinion. In 1923 a petition was sent to the municipality of Stellenbosch entitled, "Removal of Native Location Petition". The letter described fears of "black peril assaults".<sup>33</sup> Underlying this was a basic fear that Black men would rape White women. In recent years it has been argued that this fear was largely irrational.<sup>34</sup> Nonetheless, this fear was especially heightened in the early twentieth century and helped to give rise to the Immorality Act of 1927.<sup>35</sup>

The removal petition also focused on the fact that individuals residing in the barracks were stealing fruit and poultry from the surrounding farms. Despite this there were not a large number of people who signed the petition. Only about 25 individuals and farm owners signed, but it illustrated a tension between Blacks and White farm owners that would only repeat itself in Stellenbosch time and again.<sup>36</sup> It is therefore clear that by 1923 the location had already been established for long enough for people to complain about it.

This seemed to coincide or just precede the passage of the Native (Urban Areas) Act of 1923. This act gave local municipalities the ability to develop

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<sup>33</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 4/1/120, Removal of Native Location Petition, 22 May 1923.

<sup>34</sup> Charles van Onselen, "The Witches of Suburbia: Domestic Service on the Witwatersrand 1886-1914," Studies in the Social and Economic History of the Witwatersrand 1886-1914. Vol. 2, New Nineveh (Johannesburg, 1982), 1-73.

<sup>35</sup> Gareth Cornwell, "George Webb Hardy's The Black Peril and the Social Meaning of 'Black Peril' in Early Twentieth-Century South Africa" Journal of Southern African Studies, Vol. 22, No. 3, (Sep., 1996), 443. *JSTOR*. Web. 5 May 2011.

<sup>36</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 4/1/120, Removal of Native Location Petition, May 22, 1923.

and construct locations. It also made it compulsory for Blacks (natives) to live there. It even provided a stipulation that individuals could be removed if constantly unemployed or leading 'an idle, dissolute or disorderly life.'<sup>37</sup> This was the precursor to the Group Areas Act of 1950 which incorporated all racial groups.<sup>38</sup>

In 1926, along with the first mention of a church for Blacks, there was also a rough population count indicating that there were between 100 and 200 Blacks now living in the area.<sup>39</sup> If there were even just 100 occupants at the time they were already overcrowded, because the seven huts constructed were only supposed to accommodate eight or fewer people each. Overcrowding clearly began almost immediately and has constantly been an issue for Blacks within Stellenbosch ever since.

The population figure of between 100 and 200 for this time period was a fairly imprecise number. However, it provided a distinct contrast between the numbers of people present in the Du Toit section of Stellenbosch as opposed to other Black populations throughout South Africa such as Alexandra, which at the time had about 15,000 residents.<sup>40</sup> Although the municipality of Stellenbosch was relatively small it was certainly easier to house a few hundred individuals as opposed to several thousand. Even if the total number of Black individuals within the Stellenbosch municipality could be incorporated as a whole, including those housed on farms, it did not account for a very substantial population. Yet, adequate housing was not provided. It remained in this state until the mid-1930s when things began to change once again.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Saunders, *From Ndabeni to Langa*, 203.

<sup>38</sup> Muriel Horrell, The Group Areas Act: Its Effects on Human Beings, (Johannesburg: The South African Institute for Race Relations, 1956) 25-28.

<sup>39</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 4/1/120, Church for Kaffir Location, 28 Jan. 1926.

<sup>40</sup> Bonner and Nieftagodien, 41.

<sup>41</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 4/1/120, Town Clerk Letter to Municipalities, 22 Sept. 1936.

In 1936 the Stellenbosch health inspector filed a report to the national government indicating the statistics on the “urban natives.” The result of the report was as follows. There were 230 Blacks in the urban area of Stellenbosch, lending some credence to the estimate of between 100 and 200 of 10 years earlier. Of the 230 a total of 111 were employed individuals. The top 3 forms of employment were labourers (36), brick workers (29), and houseboys (23). He went on to say that there was employment opportunities for 170 individuals comprising of 120 for males, and 50 for females, and that there could be allowed for two children per couple. It is then stated that 119 individuals living in the area were unnecessary. How the health inspector came to this conclusion is a little confusing. Clearly, from the 230 original individuals of whom 111 were employed, the 119 is the resulting number of ‘unnecessary people.’ This number included men, women, and children. However, if the labour requirement in the area were 170 some of those 119 would be entirely necessary.<sup>42</sup>

Although the housing in the Du Toit section was overcrowded from the beginning it seemed to serve the needs of the municipality until the mid-1930s. It was also in 1936 that the Town Clerk first wrote to other municipalities such as Paarl, East London, and Malmesbury for advice on what to do with an expanding native population.<sup>43</sup> In May of 1938, the Town Clerk of Stellenbosch even wrote to the Cape Explosives Works Limited enquiring about how they housed their natives. Though they did not respond with too much information rather they advised the municipality to speak to the Union Health Department, which the Town Clerk subsequently did.<sup>44</sup> The municipality also decided it needed an up-to-date census of the area in order to assess what the next step had to be.

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<sup>42</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 4/1/120, Chief Health Inspector’s Report by H.E. Beattie, 3 Nov. 1936.

<sup>43</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 4/1/33, Letter from the Town Clerk to Municipalities, 22 Sept. 1936.

<sup>44</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 4/1/33, Letter from the Town Clerk to Cape Explosive Works, 5 May 1938.

In June of 1938 a census from the Health Inspector's report of the Du Toit section claimed that there were only 56 people living there. He stated that there were 16 families consisting of 20 children, 34 men, and two women.<sup>45</sup> These numbers simply could not add up. The same health inspector, just two years earlier, stated that there were 230 individuals in the area. In addition it is unclear how the inspector defined the term 'family'. It seems unlikely though those 16 families were comprised of only two women.

Interestingly enough the inspector had for some unknown reason not counted everyone. He inexplicably did not count individuals working for the municipality.<sup>46</sup> Perhaps the inspector simply did not count people who were not present when he was there. Additionally, he could have been trying to make the situation seem better than it was or could have had a general lack of concern. No clear reason for the discrepancy could be found. As a result the census of July 1938 took place to provide a more accurate depiction of the residents. The census led to the dramatic report of August 1938 by C.W. Slarke, the Inspector of Native Locations who had come down from Pretoria to inspect the site and the situation.<sup>47</sup>

C.W. Slarke came to Stellenbosch and spent time interviewing individuals at the Town Clerk's office on the 4<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> of August 1938. He subsequently detailed the situation at Du Toit Station. He noted, "There are eight barrack blocks, each divided into five or six sets of two rooms on the back-to-back principle with access through an inter-communicating door which, in the case of single-room tenants, is kept locked. Natives and coloureds are mixed and pay 6/- a week for their accommodation." The most striking detail from the report was just how "deplorable and insanitary" the conditions had become.<sup>48</sup> He wrote the following about the latrines:

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<sup>45</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 4/1/33, Health Inspector's Census by H.E. Beattie, 1 June 1938.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

<sup>47</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 4/1/120, Report on Inspection at Stellenbosch by C.W. Slarke, Inspector of Native Locations, 4 Aug. 1938.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

*Several of these latrines were inspected and found to be in a disgusting and insanitary state. The pans which had been set in a cement block were in most cases broken, seatless, unspeakably fouled and filled to capacity.*

*It was stated by the residents that a blockage had existed since the 1<sup>st</sup> August and had been duly reported to the owner. At the time of the inspection therefore the system had been out of operation for four days. The pans had nevertheless continued to be used and thereafter recourse was had to the cement floor.*

*In spite of cold weather conditions flies were much in evidence both in the latrines and the dwellings some twelve paces distant.*

*These conditions were aggravated by a blockage in another set of latrines nearby which had caused the manhole to overflow and had resulted in a nauseating quagmire of effluent over a wide area. A continuous leakage from one of the pans in a locked closet also added to the prevailing stench. Here also the latrines had continued to be used notwithstanding the blockage. Fouling on a large scale had occurred outside the latrine blocks and excreta was everywhere evident in the vicinity of the dwellings themselves.*

*A wood and iron building, said to be used as a church, standing on raised but crumbling brick foundations and adjoining a public road had been extensively used as a shelter for sanitary purposes and was almost unapproachable.*

*These filthy conditions are stated to be constantly recurring mainly through abuse of the system by the residents themselves. Until each blockage can be cleared, therefore, the occupants of some thirty to sixty rooms are without latrine accommodation and, being in an area enclosed by private property, are a grave menace to the health of the town.<sup>49</sup>*

In addition to the problems associated with the latrines Slarke noted that the washbasins were used for clothing but also at times used to clean fish with the implication that there was a high likelihood of cross contamination. The rooms themselves were poorly ventilated and overcrowded. A single room of 15ft x 12ft was home to twelve individuals. He also noted that Stellenbosch individuals owned the buildings themselves, not the municipality, which supported what had been stated in the 1921 plans.<sup>50</sup>

While the reported conditions were clearly a major point of concern, Slarke also defined other problems. The fact that there was cohabitation by Black

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<sup>49</sup> Ibid.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

and Coloured individuals was of concern because Slarke believed that it was 'undesirable' that the two groups lived in such 'contiguity'. This situation was perceived to be a problem for several reasons. Firstly, the mixing of races was rejected in its own right and secondly, there was the fear that Coloureds would supply Blacks with alcohol (which did happen). This was something that the municipality wanted to avoid and, according to Slarke, was a reason in itself to separate the two groups.<sup>51</sup> Mixing also did take place and can be reflected in many residents of Kaya Mandi. An example would be Monde Mayekiso, former mayor of Kaya Mandi, who had been born Coloured in Du Toit but was adopted by a Black family.<sup>52</sup>

The issue of cohabitation was in direct line with what was occurring in Johannesburg during this time in the area that was to become Soweto. Because the government was eager to keep groups separated, to keep alcohol away and avoid criminality, they quickly moved to develop locations.<sup>53</sup> With Slarke coming from Pretoria it was to be expected that he would be aware of the regulations and practices of Johannesburg and would seek to implement a similar strategy in Stellenbosch.

In addition to the description of the conditions in Du Toit, Slarke also gave the data from the July 1938 census, seen in Table 1.

**Table 1: Black Population of Du Toit in 1938**<sup>54</sup>

Gender	21 or older	Under 21	Total
Male	171	61	232
Female	39	51	90
Total	210	112	322

<sup>51</sup> Ibid.

<sup>52</sup> Monde Mayekiso, Personal Interview, 23/8/2010. Monde was born in Du Toit in 1954 before moving to Kaya Mandi. He served on the Kaya Mandi Town Council in the 1980s before becoming mayor of Kaya Mandi in the early 1990s.

<sup>53</sup> Bonner and Segal, 14-15.

<sup>54</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 4/1/33. Census of Natives, 12 July 1938.



This was probably the most accurate of any of the censuses taken so far. It also revealed interesting information about the population. Clearly the population was vastly weighted toward males. The majority of Black individuals who moved to Stellenbosch and stayed in Du Toit did so as single males.<sup>55</sup> Otherwise, one would expect to see the group of individuals that were 21 or older to be equal in size between males and females. Individuals younger than 21 are most likely due to local birthing patterns because the numbers reflected a natural parity.

The reason for the disparity amongst the over 21 group was because farms and factories relied heavily on male labour. This meant that it would be more attractive for males to move to Stellenbosch. However, there were also some jobs for women on farms or as domestic workers. Over the following decades these two groups of individuals produced approximately equal numbers of male and female children that were not skewed by the patterns of migration. Since individuals migrating to Stellenbosch were usually over the age of 21<sup>56</sup>, those under 21 were either brought by their parents or were products of relationships that were formed once in Stellenbosch. The population count of 322 in 1938 may also be contrasted against the population of Langa, which had approximately 16,000 people at the time.<sup>57</sup>

The population data also helped to illustrate the main reason individuals moved to Stellenbosch as being, unequivocally, jobs. Employment was the single most driving force for individuals who moved from the Transkei and

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<sup>55</sup> T.D.M. Mosomothane, Personal Interview, 13/7/2010. Mosomathane was born in 1929 but moved to Kaya Mandi in 1955 to teach in the primary school. He has also worked as a language instructor at the University of Stellenbosch, served on the Native Advisory Board, and founder of organised soccer in Kaya Mandi.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid.

<sup>57</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 4/1/120, Report From: Cape Town City Hall Meeting of Officials around the Cape Peninsula with the Secretary for Native Affairs, 7 May 1941.

Ciskei to Stellenbosch.<sup>58</sup> What is clear from Charles H. Feinstein's book, *An Economic History of South Africa*, is that by the 1930s conditions in the reserves were deteriorating. The amount of income per individual was declining rapidly and so it was logical that individuals would want to move.<sup>59</sup>

Due to the increasing population size and the lack of satisfactory housing a larger space was clearly needed to house the urban population of Stellenbosch. Slarke believed that the most favourable place for a new location was about 2 miles outside of town, Lot 48 at Du Toit, a place that the municipality had already indicated as a possible area for a Black location. This would ultimately become the site that Kaya Mandi was situated on and Slarke described it as follows:<sup>60</sup>

*It is pleasantly situated on a hill overlooking a portion of the town and is approached by the main road to Cape Town. The site is well-drained, has a northerly and westerly aspect and is stated to be suitable for building but is somewhat exposed, as is a portion of the town itself, to the prevailing south-easterly wind. It is screened from the main road by a broad barrier of fir-trees and has a slope of approximately 1 in 10. It is at present covered by ordinary veld scrub and consists of a shallow gravelly soil superimposed on a clayey shale.*

*An old clay pit has been excavated into the side of the hill where the site terminates above the main road and adjoining this are Cr. Blake's brickyards and quarry at the present in use.*

*The site is practically wholly fenced and includes a sprinkling of fir trees. It is bounded roughly by the quarry already mentioned and municipal owned leased land under cultivation on the south and west and the buffer strip adjoining the main road on the east and north. There is a sufficient extent of land to meet the Council's location requirements for many years.*

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<sup>58</sup>Songo Fipaza, Personal Interview, 01/10/2009;

'PoPo' Setona, Personal Interview, 20/8/2010. Setona was born in 1941 in Du Toit before being moved to Kaya Mandi in 1946. He has always been an active member of the PAC since its inception in 1959 and started the first tavern in Kaya Mandi in the 1980s.

<sup>59</sup> Charles Feinstein, *An Economic History of South Africa : Conquest, Discrimination and Development*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005) , 70-73.

<sup>60</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 4/1/120, Report on Inspection at Stellenbosch by C.W. Slarke, Inspector of Native Locations. 4 Aug. 1938.

*The site is situated within half a mile of Du Toit station in which locality the K.W.V. and other firms operate and commonage has been earmarked for industrial sites.*

*The town's water-borne sewerage system has been extended to within 800 or 900 yards of the site and it is understood that the head of water for domestic purposes is sufficient to meet location requirements.*<sup>61</sup>

The inspector highlighted some very practical reasons why Lot 48 was an agreeable place. The fact that it was half a mile from the existing area meant individuals would not have to move far and it was also a bit further away from the town centre of Stellenbosch.<sup>62</sup> It also coincided with the earlier standards of moving Blacks under the guise of health and safety which took place in Cape Town.<sup>63</sup> It provided the psychological comfort of being on the other side of the Plankenberg River and the railway line, further physically and psychologically isolating it from central Stellenbosch. While further away, Lot 48 was, however, still on the main arterial road to Cape Town and into Stellenbosch. This meant that labour could be transported readily and easily. It would also not inconvenience anyone because the land was open veld and municipally owned, making it cheap.<sup>64</sup>

Arguably the greatest attribute to the new location was that it was extremely close to what was becoming the industrial sector of Stellenbosch. If Stellenbosch wanted to continue to expand economically as it had been up till then, labour was needed. While the town was outwardly concerned about the health and housing of individuals, the main concern was the need to have an adequate workforce.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> Ibid.

<sup>62</sup> Bonner and Segal 15.

<sup>63</sup> Swanson 387-410.

<sup>64</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 4/1/120, Report on Inspection at Stellenbosch by C.W. Slarke, Inspector of Native Locations, 4 Aug. 1938.

<sup>65</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 4/1/120, Report From: Cape Town City Hall Meeting of Officials around the Cape Peninsula with the Secretary for Native Affairs, 7 May 1941.

Following the inspection report in August, the municipality began drawing up a formalized plan for the construction of the new location. However, they were struggling until F. Walter Jamesen of the Central Housing Board came and ‘answered the call.’ He outlined the area near Plankenberg River as an ideal location agreeing with the assessment of Slarke in 1938. He also provided another census report of Blacks and Coloureds.<sup>66</sup>

**Table 2: Population of Non-Europeans in Stellenbosch, 1938<sup>67</sup>**

<b>Area of habitation of non-Europeans</b>	<b>Population</b>
<b>Du Toit Station</b>	700
<b>Banhoek/Andringa area</b>	1,000
<b>Scattered</b>	500
<b>Unzoned</b>	1,600
<b>Total</b>	3,800 (3,500 Coloureds and 300 Blacks)

This population chart again illustrates the limited size of the Black population in Stellenbosch in 1938. There had almost certainly been more than 300 Blacks as could be concluded from the faulty census-taking of June 1938 and from the fact that the July census indicated 322, not including individuals living on farms. Even though the population was so small the municipality clearly desired to keep Coloureds and Blacks separate and to keep tight controls over the Black population.<sup>68</sup>

Jamesen also suggested in his report that housing be based on three types, which were type A, being a 4-room house with two to three males per room, type B, being a 2-room house for a family of three and type C, being a 3-room

<sup>66</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 4/1/120, Report by Mr. F. Walter Jamesen. 12 Jan. 1938.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid.

<sup>68</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 4/1/120, Report on Inspection at Stellenbosch by C.W. Slarke, Inspector of Native Locations, 4 Aug. 1938.

house for a family of up to seven people.<sup>69</sup> The scheme he developed would cost approximately £15,000. After the Slarke report and with Jamesen's suggestions the development of the location progressed.<sup>70</sup> With a location identified and a tentative plan established the Town Council of Stellenbosch had a public meeting on 23 September 1938 for individuals to voice their opinions on the subject.<sup>71</sup> No major objections were given and the plan went ahead.

The actual building of the location was slow to get going and only started more than a year later. In September of 1939 G. P. Blake requested permission from the municipality to house Blacks on the premises of his brick factory in order to remove the problem of Blacks living with Coloureds in Du Toit Station. He wanted to put up a temporary hostel on the future site of the location to alleviate the situation. The fact that he had used the word 'future' to describe the location meant that it was still very much in the early stages of construction, the labour of which was supplied by the local Black population.<sup>72</sup> Further proof that the location was still in its infancy comes from the municipality that suggested to other companies, such as the KWV, that they could house their workers the same way if they wanted to.<sup>73</sup>

The census taken in 1941 of Blacks in the urban areas of Stellenbosch indicated 330 individuals and also provided a clearer breakdown of the family situation prior to the establishment of Kaya Mandi. Table 3 illustrates how many Blacks in Stellenbosch were living as part of a family unit. This meant that Kaya Mandi, if it was going to succeed, had to have facilities that would

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<sup>69</sup> The final decision on housing was A-types were 2 bedroom, B-Type were 3 Bedroom, and C-Type were 3 Bedroom for individuals.

<sup>70</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 4/1/120, Report by Mr. F. Walter Jamesen. 12 Jan. 1938.

<sup>71</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 4/1/120, Announcement of Public Meeting on a Native Location, 23 Sept. 1938.

<sup>72</sup> Albert Chungwa, Personal Interview, 23/9/2010. Chungwa was born in 1936 in Du Toit and moved to Kaya Mandi in 1942. He was an active rugby player in the 1950's and still runs a meat stand in Kaya Mandi.

<sup>73</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 4/1/120, Report on Inspection at Stellenbosch by C.W. Slarke, Inspector of Native Locations, 4 Aug. 1938.

provide for the needs of families. What was necessary was the construction of family homes and community facilities such as schools.

**Table 3: Population of Black Families in Stellenbosch, 1941<sup>74</sup>**

Location	Families	Parents	Children	Single	Total
Ida's Valley	13	26	10	52	88
Du Toit	34	64	54	125	243
Total	47	90	64	177	330 <sup>75</sup>

The census-taking was an important process because the goal was to house every individual present within the boundaries of the municipality. While this was a good intention it was not successful and there was a real failure to develop a sustainable plan for the future. Populations are not static and there seemed to be a real lack of foresight when it came to this sort of planning. This was partly due to the arrogance in later years of the municipality who believed they could control the situation forever. This happened especially once the priorities of the municipality shifted.<sup>76</sup>

Construction of Kaya Mandi began in 1940 and marked a significant shift in policy. It also demonstrated an increasing amount of complexity within Black housing.

First there was the shift from scattered and isolated families throughout Stellenbosch to a small informal settlement in the form of 'Kaffir' Location. From there the simplistic Du Toit housing scheme marked the first localized housing plan. This was replaced by the formation of Kaya Mandi as an

<sup>74</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 4/1/120, Census of Natives Still Living in Town, 16 Sept. 1941.

<sup>75</sup> While the report indicates 330, the numbers add up to 331. This is either a simple mistake or to simply round the numbers off.

<sup>76</sup> This can be demonstrated through the increasingly repressive measures passed especially in the mid-1950s aimed at controlling and even reducing the population of Kaya Mandi.



intentional move away from the barrack-style<sup>77</sup> and relatively mixed housing in Du Toit to an almost entirely segregated<sup>78</sup> Black community that required more than basic housing.

Sometime between 1940 and 1941 the new location was also given the name Kaya Mandi, as it was originally written and translated to mean 'Our Home.'<sup>79</sup> It is not known who actually named the location but, as was the case with Langa, it probably was a group of local Black individuals. It was in November of 1941 that Kaya Mandi was officially announced in the local press and with it an entirely new era for Blacks in Stellenbosch began:

*Municipality of Stellenbosch Establishment of Native Location:*

*It is hereby notified for general information that the Minister of Native Affairs has approved, in terms of paragraph (a) of sub-section (1) of section one of the Natives (Urban Areas) Act, 1923 (No.21 of 1923), of the defining, setting apart and laying out by the municipality of Stellenbosch as a location for the occupation, residence, and other reasonable requirements of natives, of a certain piece of land situated within the area under the control of the municipality of Stellenbosch, as shown on a plan filed in the office of the Secretary of Native Affairs and described as follows:...*

*The location shall be called Kaya Mandi.<sup>80</sup>*

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<sup>77</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 4/1/33, Letter from the Town Clerk, 24 Oct. 1938.

<sup>78</sup> Although Kaya Mandi was designated for Blacks, there were a couple Coloureds living there generally as the spouse of an individual, and the first White superintendent, H.D.R. Blok, also lived in the location.

<sup>79</sup> Today Kaya Mandi is most often spelled Kayamandi or Khayamandi and is translated to mean 'Sweet Home.'

<sup>80</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 4/1/120, Municipality of Stellenbosch Establishment of Native Location, November 1941.

## **Chapter 2: The development of Kaya Mandi, 1941-1980**

### **Housing and policy changes**

Kaya Mandi was established as a Black location. That did not mean, however, that Blacks were in charge. Instead there was a White location superintendent who managed the location on behalf of the municipality. The superintendent was also the intermediary between the Native Advisory Board, which gave Blacks representation in local affairs, and the local Stellenbosch Municipal Council.<sup>81</sup> The first of these superintendents was H.D.R. Blok.

Blok was in charge of the location from its inception in 1941 until 1953 when he retired from the post.<sup>82</sup> This period was characterized by the continued expansion and development of Kaya Mandi into a community. Following Blok, the next superintendent was P.J. Oosthuysen who retired in 1958.<sup>83</sup> It is during his term that the relationship between the municipality and Kaya Mandi really began to change. The municipality began shifting its priorities in Kaya Mandi away from family housing and focused exclusively on single male housing.<sup>84</sup> The last major superintendent was P.S. Pietersen who served from 1961 to approximately 1980.<sup>85</sup> Under his tenure the status quo established by Oosthuysen was continued, but some important developments took place.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> WC Archives, 3/STB Vol. 4/1/116, Regulations and Municipal Association: Kaya Mandi Location, 1941-1945.

<sup>82</sup> WC Archives, 3/STB Vol. 1 Ref. 2/1, Minutes of the Native Advisory Board, 28 Oct. 1953.

<sup>83</sup> WC Archives, 3/STB Vol. 2 Ref. 2/3 I, Minutes of the Native Advisory Board, 23 Sept. 1958.

<sup>84</sup> WC Archives, 3/STB Vol. 1 Ref. 2/1, Letter from the Town Clerk to the Secretary of the Cape Peninsula Municipal Association, 23 Oct. 1953.

<sup>85</sup> The gap of superintendents between 1958 and 1961 was filled by several interim superintendents. It is also unclear when exactly Pietersen retired. There was at least one superintendent after him, S.G. Moss.

<sup>86</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 2 Ref. 2/3 II, Minutes of the Native Advisory Board, 12 Sept. 1961.

When Blok first began as superintendent it was arguably one of the most optimistic times for Kaya Mandi. Blok lived and worked in Kaya Mandi and under his tenure several extensions, a school and churches were built. For the most part people seemed to like him and remembered him in a favourable light.<sup>87</sup> When he retired, the Native Advisory Board even decided to arrange a farewell occasion and had a collection to get Blok and his wife a small gift. Even after his retirement as superintendent he continued to work in and for the residents of Kaya Mandi.<sup>88</sup>

Kaya Mandi was originally designed to alleviate the overcrowding specifically associated with the individuals residing in the Du Toit section of Stellenbosch. Additionally, it was to house individuals who resided elsewhere within the Stellenbosch municipal area. This principally meant people living in Ida's Valley and Jamestown as well as on the farms spread throughout Stellenbosch. However, the relocation did not take place overnight. This was due to the limited number of houses being built in the early stages. As a result some families remained in Ida's Valley or other sections of Stellenbosch until the mid-1950s when housing became available and the Group Areas Act made it compulsory.<sup>89</sup> However, some families and individuals never moved to Kaya Mandi because of special permission grants given to their employers. This was experienced amongst domestic workers, selected farm workers and also the Stellenbosch University.<sup>90</sup>

The initial construction of Kaya Mandi resulted in just 55 homes. Of the 55 homes 18 were type A houses (two rooms), 22 were type B houses (three rooms), and 15 were type C houses (three rooms). Type A and B houses

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<sup>87</sup> Albert Chungwa Personal Interview, 23/9/2010;

T.D.M. Mosomothane, Personal Interview, 13/7/2010.

<sup>88</sup> WC Archives, 3/STB Vol. 1 Ref. 2/1, Minutes of the Native Advisory Board, 28 Oct. 1953.

<sup>89</sup> Albert Chungwa, Personal Interview, 23/9/2010;

David Swartbooi, Personal Interview, 20/8/2010. Swartbooi was born in 1936 in Idas Valley before moving to Kaya Mandi in 1956. He worked for Distillers Corporation for many years before it became Distell.

<sup>90</sup> WC Archives 3/STB, Vol. 6 Ref. 2/5/4. There are numerous instances of people applying for special permits within this volume.

were designed for family units. Smaller families were placed in type A houses with larger families being placed in type B houses. The type C houses<sup>91</sup> were designed as singles quarters, which exclusively held individuals on short-term contracts. These contracts generally lasted for one year and were filled by men who were mostly brought from the Transkei or Ciskei to work predominately in the factories. These were places like Stellenbosch Farmers' Winery, Blake's Brickyard, and the General Box Company.<sup>92</sup>

The houses that were built under the initial plan were not enough. It was noted in the report, "Case for an Extension of the Municipal Housing Scheme of Natives at Kaya Mandi," in 1943 that a 'tremendous influx of natives' had taken place and that these individuals were 'infiltrating' Stellenbosch and mixing with Coloureds.<sup>93</sup> In addition, more factories had been moving to Stellenbosch and subsequently more housing was needed for the workers. For instance, as early as 1938 there were plans for the KWV to have a factory near the Du Toit Station area.<sup>94</sup> The need for housing created a concern. It was feared that if adequate housing was not provided labourers would have to be removed, therefore putting the industrial growth of Stellenbosch at risk.<sup>95</sup>

It was from this stage onward that the balance between the desire to expand industrially and the desire to have control over a limited number of Blacks began to take shape. The need to maintain this delicate balance on a national level is illustrated by the establishment of the Tomlinson Commission in 1954 and the policy decisions regarding economic and social goals that the National Party made.<sup>96</sup> The Tomlinson Commission had to report on the

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<sup>91</sup> Drotske, 33. These housing types differed from the original plan presented by Jamesen but are what were actually constructed.

<sup>92</sup> T.D.M. Mosomothane, Personal Interview, 13/7/2010.

<sup>93</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 4/1/120, The Case for an Extension of the Municipal Housing Scheme for Natives at Kaya Mandi, 14 July 1943.

<sup>94</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 4/1/120, Report of Inspection at Stellenbosch by C.W. Slarke, Inspector of Native Locations, 4 Aug. 1938.

<sup>95</sup> WC Archives, 3/STB Vol. 4/1/120, The Case for an Extension of the Municipal Housing Scheme for Natives at Kaya Mandi. 14 July 1943.

<sup>96</sup> Deborah Posel, The Making of Apartheid 1948-1961: Conflict and Compromise, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991) 104-111.

conditions of the reserves and provide a plan to rehabilitate them. The final report detailed that South Africans would have to decide between racial integration and separation, and although these were the two options, separation was the only way. This, however, would come at an immediate substantial cost.<sup>97</sup> Additionally, White farmers feared that increasing the productivity of the reserves would put them in direct competition with Black farmers, something that would be devastating for them.<sup>98</sup> Prime Minister Verwoerd subsequently rejected or mitigated many of the findings of the commission. This was a blow to the South African Bureau of Racial Affairs (Sabra) that was centred in Stellenbosch and a strong proponent of 'total apartheid' and the findings of the commission.<sup>99</sup> This illustrated the disparity of views on apartheid within the National Party and between the Western Cape and the Transvaal.

The massive increase in Blacks by 1943 was not limited to Stellenbosch. Blacks had been coming to the Western Cape in general in large numbers in search of jobs. This greater migratory movement was due to the increased industrialization brought on by World War II. There was actually a labour shortage in the years prior to 1943, specifically within war associated industries in and around Cape Town.<sup>100</sup>

Despite the influx, Kaya Mandi was seen as a model township at this time.<sup>101</sup> The municipality took great care to maintain contiguity within the township. For instance it was decided that with each extension the houses would be built of the same material and in the same way as the previous so as not to

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<sup>97</sup> John Lazar, *Verwoerd Verses the 'Visionaries': The South African Bureau of Racial Affairs (Sabra) and Apartheid, 1948-1961*, *Apartheid's Genesis* Eds. Philip Bonner, Peter Delius, and Deborah Posel, (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 1993) 372-376.

<sup>98</sup> Posel, *The Making of Apartheid*, 71.

<sup>99</sup> Lazar, *Apartheid's Genesis*, 372-375.

<sup>100</sup> WC Archives, 4/STB, Vol. 1 Ref. 2/2, Report on the Inspection of Natives in the Cape Peninsula, 21 Apr. 1944.

<sup>101</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 4/1/116, Interview with the Secretary of Native Affairs, 8 Nov. 1948.

'promote jealousy.'<sup>102</sup> This however, was not always the easiest of tasks, especially due to World War II.

The effects of World War II even influenced the construction of Kaya Mandi. Due to the war the costs of raw materials had greatly increased. As a result, the Stellenbosch municipality was initially denied their request to continue putting in wooden floors in the houses. Wood was desired because it kept the homes warmer and drier in the winter months, thus limiting the chance of disease. This was a genuine health concern supporting one of the key motivating factors for the initial development of Kaya Mandi.<sup>103</sup> The problem with wood was that it was expensive, especially during this time. Eventually the central government conceded and granted them the additional funds for the material and construction went ahead as designed.<sup>104</sup>

The 1944 Extension of Kaya Mandi followed just a year after the 1943 report that detailed the substantial influx of Blacks. This was to be the first of a series of extensions and resulted in an additional 20 homes being built. There were an additional five type A, five type B, and ten type C homes constructed.<sup>105</sup> This was inadequate and in 1945 the Second Extension of Kaya Mandi started.<sup>106</sup> Another ten type B<sup>107</sup> and ten type C houses were built. However, as soon as 1948 yet another extension was needed and 20 type C houses were built.<sup>108</sup> This brought the total number of houses up to 115 in 1948,

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<sup>102</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 4/1/38, Letter to Dr. Hamlin Johannesburg City Engineer, 1943.

<sup>103</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 4/1/120, Report of Inspection at Stellenbosch by C.W. Slarke, Inspector of Native Locations, 4 Aug. 1938.

<sup>104</sup> WC Archives, 3/STB Vol. 4/1/38, this takes place through a series of correspondences throughout 1943 and caught the Stellenbosch municipality by surprise.

<sup>105</sup> WC Archives, 3/STB Vol. 4/1/38 First Extension of Sub-Economic Housing Scheme- Kaya Mandi, 7 Mar. 1944.

<sup>106</sup> WC Archives, 3/STB Vol. 4/1/38, Proposed Second Extension of Kaya Mandi, 1945.

<sup>107</sup> WC Archives, 3/STB Vol. 2 Ref. 2/2a, Olivier Commission Report. B1 Houses are simply B Type houses that had been upgraded making their value increase and subsequently their rent.

<sup>108</sup> WC Archives, 3/STB Vol. 4/1/38 Letter to Dr. Cruse, March, 1947; Drotske, 33.

which effectively doubled the number of houses in less than ten years. It also more than doubled the capacity of Kaya Mandi because the extensions resulted in an increased number of large family homes and single quarters.

One of the reasons to provide more large dwellings was because it was more cost effective for the municipality to build larger houses. The rising cost to build each subsequent extension of Kaya Mandi is illustrated by the cost of type C houses shown in Table 4 below. Additionally, more and more people were supposed to be housed in Kaya Mandi where space was already limited. Small family homes provided a lower concentration of people but at a greater expense.<sup>109</sup>

**Table 4: C-Type House Construction Costs, 1941-1948<sup>110</sup>**

<b>Year of Construction</b>	<b>Costs per House (in £'s)</b>	<b>% Increase from previous construction</b>
<b>1941</b>	278.7.0	-
<b>1944</b>	496.0.0	78
<b>1945</b>	710.0.0	43
<b>1948</b>	817.0.0	15

Many ratepayers of Stellenbosch were becoming increasingly reluctant toward funding the expansion of Kaya Mandi.<sup>111</sup> This was because, unlike the corporations who benefited from the population of Kaya Mandi, individuals within the Stellenbosch community were largely paying for a service they did not directly benefit from. As a result there was even a petition in 1953, sent around against any further expansion of Kaya Mandi, because it was contrary to their (the ratepayers) interests.<sup>112</sup>

<sup>109</sup> Drotske, 30-35.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid.

<sup>111</sup> WC Archives, 3/STB Vol. 10 Ref. 2/13, Report of the Town Clerk to the Housing Committee Meeting, 28 Aug. 1951.

<sup>112</sup> WC Archives, 3/STB Vol. 12 Ref. 2/21/1, Petition to Stop the Expansion of Kaya Mandi, 1953.



Consequently, by the mid-1950s, the hopes of the municipality were on the new location of Emfuleni, situated further down the Eerste River towards Cape Town, to house families when it would eventually open in 1962. Ultimately it would take several years before any resettlement took place and that was not of the original families.<sup>113</sup> Resettlement began during 1966 when 52 of 54 designated families were moved though not to Emfuleni. These families had been living in low cost temporary shelters and were moved to the homelands.<sup>114</sup> Although it is not exactly clear why people were not moved to Emfuleni, it could have been as a result of the resistance of individuals against moving. Many of the families had significant claims to the right to live in Kaya Mandi, because of the length of time their families had been living there or in Stellenbosch.

The need for increased housing is reflected in the population statistics of Kaya Mandi from this period, shown in Table 5 on the following page.

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<sup>113</sup> WC Archives, 3/STB Vol. 13 Ref. 2/21/3, Report of the Native Administration Committee Meeting, 30 June 1953.

<sup>114</sup> *Resettling of African Families*, The Cape Argus, 4 Feb 1971.

**Table 5: Population of Blacks in Kaya Mandi, 1938-1960<sup>115</sup>**

Year	Population of Blacks
1938	~322 <sup>116</sup>
1944	654 <sup>117</sup>
1946	1618 <sup>118</sup>
1951	1920 <sup>119</sup>
1956	2348 <sup>120</sup>
1960	1770 <sup>121</sup>

What is interesting about this chart is that growth was generally positive. The growth was largely the result of the increased number of individuals living in the singles quarters. The number of type C houses jumped from 15 to 55 between 1942 and 1948, again illustrating the growing industrialization of Stellenbosch.<sup>122</sup> This was particularly true of the Western Cape as it developed and expanded during the 1940s.<sup>123</sup> At the same time, the White population of Stellenbosch increased from 7,423 in 1946 to 10,806 in 1960,<sup>124</sup> indicating it was not just the influx of Blacks causing the Stellenbosch

<sup>115</sup> Note that lack of consistent spacing of years is due to the availability of census data that was not always regularly taken and is subsequently taken from a variety of sources within the Archives.

<sup>116</sup> This figure is for Blacks within the Stellenbosch Municipality, predominantly centered on the Du Toit or Idas Valley sections of town because Kaya Mandi was not established until 1941. WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 4/1/33. Census of Natives, 12 July, 1938.

<sup>117</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 4/1/33, Letter from Cape Town to Stellenbosch, 16 Nov. 1944.

<sup>118</sup> WC Archives SGD Vol. 179 Ref. 1/4/136, Stellenbosch Municipality Annual Reports, 1946.

<sup>119</sup> WC Archives SGD Vol. 179 Ref. 1/4/136, Stellenbosch Municipality Annual Reports, 1951.

<sup>120</sup> WC Archives SGD Vol. 180 Ref. 1/4/136, Stellenbosch Municipality Annual Reports, 1956.

<sup>121</sup> WC Archives SGD Vol. 180 Ref. 1/4/136, Stellenbosch Municipality Annual Reports, 1960.

<sup>122</sup> Drotske, 33.

<sup>123</sup> WC Archives, 3/STB Vol. 1 Ref. 2/2, Report on the Inspection of Natives in the Cape Peninsula, Apr. 21 1944.

<sup>124</sup> WC Archives SGD Vol. 180 Ref. 1/4/136, Stellenbosch Municipality Annual Reports, 1960.

population to grow. Despite the large growth within the Black population it still only made up slightly more than ten percent in 1946 of a total population of 15,195 and slightly less than ten percent of the total population of 22,660 in 1960.<sup>125</sup>

According to the population data in Table 5 on the previous page there was one noteworthy anomaly, the decrease in population between 1956 and 1960. The decrease in population was due to a very specific reason. This was the result of direct intervention by the local municipality of Stellenbosch which had self-imposed quotas on the number of Blacks in Stellenbosch. In 1955 the quota was 1,700, plus 250 seasonal workers, plus any additional individuals who did not live in Kaya Mandi itself.<sup>126</sup> Clearly, the population in 1956 was above the 1955 quota, but by 1960 it seemed clear that the quota had been met.

The quota system was a solution for managing the growing population of Kaya Mandi residents and was implemented by the Stellenbosch Municipality in 1955. This policy change however was not limited to Stellenbosch. The Western Cape in general was seeking to control the influx they had created in the 1940s. The housing situation of the Western Cape was poor and there seemed to be a continuous influx of individuals putting more and more pressure on the system.<sup>127</sup> However, the true desire to control influx had racist overtones aimed at keeping the Western Cape as 'White' as possible by preventing permanent Black settlement.

In Stellenbosch, as well as in other parts of the Western Cape, municipalities began to enact tighter and tighter restrictions which included the attempt to

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<sup>125</sup> Ibid. This lack of growth in 1960 though is completely artificial due to much more stringent influx control developed in the 1950s.

<sup>126</sup> WC Archives, 3/STB Vol. 2 Ref. 2/2a, Remarks About Natives Present Matters in Stellenbosch, 6 Aug. 1958.

<sup>127</sup> WC Archives, 3/STB Vol. 1 Ref. 2/2 I, Letter from the Town Clerk to the Secretary of the Cape Peninsula Municipal Association, 23 Oct. 1953; WC Archives, 3/STB Vol. 13 Ref. 2/21/3, Confidential Report of the Town Clerk, 13 Nov. 1957.

remove all women, who could not make a legitimate claim to being there, from Kaya Mandi.<sup>128</sup> They feared the presence of women and their ability to give birth would create a permanent settlement.<sup>129</sup> The desire was for Kaya Mandi to simply be a location to house male labourers who were entirely necessary for the growth of Stellenbosch. It is in this way that Stellenbosch sought to be one of the strictest adherents to the policies of 'total apartheid'. This is no surprise given the role of Stellenbosch and specifically that of the Stellenbosch University in the development of apartheid.

There was an uneasiness and even fear amongst the towns and cities of the Western Cape that Blacks would reside permanently. This ideology was based on the perception that Blacks were inferior to Whites. This was expressed through the intricate legislation passed that limited the freedom of Blacks such as the influx control and pass laws. Additionally, Whites believed that the future labour demands could be met by the Coloured community making Blacks unnecessary in the Western Cape.<sup>130</sup> While this was partially true, it failed to grasp the divisions that racism had already developed. The Stellenbosch University for instance tried to find Coloured labour for some jobs but Coloureds saw the jobs as too menial for them and the efforts to replace Black labour failed.<sup>131</sup>

The desire to limit or reverse settlement came in response to the increased sense of Black Nationalism that was steadily building up steam.<sup>132</sup> One way in which that dissent was manifested was through the Defiance Campaign which was initiated by the African National Congress in 1952 as an attempt to

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<sup>128</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 2 Ref. 2/3 I, Minutes of the Native Advisory Board Meeting, 31 Mar. 1953.

<sup>129</sup> WC Archives, 3/STB Vol. 1 Ref. 2/2 I, Report of the Native Administration Committee, 18 Nov. 1952.

<sup>130</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 4/1/116, Interview with the Secretary of Native Affairs, 8 Nov. 1948.

<sup>131</sup> WC Archives 3/STB, Vol. 6 Ref. 2/5/4 II, Interview with Members of the University Hostel Committee, 1956.

<sup>132</sup> Deborah Posel, *Influx Control and Urban Labour Markets, Apartheid's Genesis*, Eds. Philip Bonner, Peter Delius, and Deborah Posel, (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 1993) 412-413; Bonner and Segal, Soweto, 47.

overwhelm the legal system by intentionally breaking minor laws.<sup>133</sup> Although the Defiance Campaign was intended to be non-violent, violence did take place.<sup>134</sup>

One example of tighter controls in Stellenbosch was the introduction of a curfew. The curfew prevented Blacks from entering the central area of Stellenbosch between the hours of 10pm and 4am. At 10pm a horn would sound signalling that all Blacks had to move back into Kaya Mandi, with few exceptions. The Native Advisory Board and the residents of Kaya Mandi greatly resented the curfew for obvious reasons.<sup>135</sup>

With the tighter controls on housing came an increase in deportations and removals from Kaya Mandi. This rather cold-hearted approach meant the eviction of widows who took up valuable housing, but were not directly working.<sup>136</sup> This was met with much anger and frustration from the community because, especially in the case of people residing in the family quarters many of whom had lived in Kaya Mandi for almost their entire lives. To be sent to the Ciskei or Transkei meant a total abandonment of their homes.<sup>137</sup> The Native Advisory Board even went as far as to question the Christianity of the Stellenbosch Municipal Council for enacting such measures.<sup>138</sup>

The problem only continued to worsen for the residents of Kaya Mandi in the mid-1950s. The Olivier Commission, which was commissioned by the local

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<sup>133</sup> Edward Feit, "Generational Conflict and African Nationalism in South Africa: The African National Congress, 1949 – 1959." The International Journal of African Historical Studies, Vol. 5 No. 2 (1972), 190. *JSTOR*. Web. 15 Oct. 2010.

<sup>134</sup> Anne Mager and Gary Minkley, *Reaping the Whirlwind: The East London Riots of 1952*, Apartheid's Genesis, Eds. Philip Bonner, Peter Delius, and Deborah Posel, (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 1993) 229-231.

<sup>135</sup> 'PoPo' Setona, Personal Interview, 20/8/2010; WC Archives, 4/STB, 2/1, Minutes of the Native Advisory Board Meeting, October 28, 1953.

<sup>136</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 2 Ref. 2/3 I, Minutes of the Native Advisory Board, 31 Mar. 1954.

<sup>137</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 2 Ref. 2/3 I, Minutes of the Native Advisory Board, 30 Mar. 1955.

<sup>138</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 1 Ref. 2/1, Minutes of the Native Advisory Board, 28 Apr. 1954.

municipality and headed by Stellenbosch University Professors P.J.J. Olivier and Jan Sadie, published its report in 1955. The report gave a clear picture as to the past and present of Kaya Mandi and detailed what it thought the future of Kaya Mandi should be.<sup>139</sup> The report principally stated that Black urbanization should be reversed. This reinforced the quota system and provided greater impetus toward forced removals. Additionally, the report's conclusions sought to marginalize any influence the Native Advisory Board might have had by completely ignoring it and its input.<sup>140</sup>

The Native Advisory Board in Kaya Mandi was in a very difficult position because it attempted to serve the interests of the residents however being largely marginalized by local government policies. The only way any change could happen through conventional means was by appealing to the sympathies of the superintendent or by appealing decisions directly in the courts. Both methods produced some, though very limited, success.

Superintendent Oosthuysen, who spoke Xhosa, was a fairly pragmatic and sensitive man, but not necessarily sympathetic, to the difficulties associated with the residents of Kaya Mandi. His ability to speak the local language earned him much support amongst individuals in Kaya Mandi.<sup>141</sup> However, as was the case more often than not, the municipality and Oosthuysen himself took some tough stances against residents of Kaya Mandi.

One instance of this was the case of David Gxuluwe and his wife in 1955. David and his wife had been legally residing in Kaya Mandi until she left in 1953. Unfortunately she was prosecuted by the Divisional Council of Stellenbosch for living in a new area illegally. She was subsequently forced to return to Kaya Mandi in 1954 at which time she was refused a permit to stay. She did, however, do so illegally. At the same time Gxuluwe had left his job at

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<sup>139</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 2 Ref. 2/2a, Olivier Commission Report, Dec. 1955.

<sup>140</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 2 Ref. 2/2a, Olivier Commission Report, Dec. 1955; WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 2 Ref. 2/3 I, Minutes of the Native Advisory Board, 9 May 1956.

<sup>141</sup> T.D.M. Mosomothane, Personal Interview, 13/7/2010.

Distillers and got a 'permit to find work'. He fortunately did find work at Visser's Garage.<sup>142</sup>

The problems for Gxuluwe escalated because he allowed his 'permit to find work' expire before applying for the appropriate 'permit to work.' As a result his employer was threatened with legal action if he did not immediately terminate Gxuluwe's employment. Due to his subsequent lack of employment and the fact that he had housed his wife illegally he was then refused a permit to live in Kaya Mandi. Ultimately the case went to court in 1955 and David and his wife were allowed to remain in Kaya Mandi.<sup>143</sup> He even applied for and received a taxi license in 1957.<sup>144</sup> This case was used as an example of how difficult it could be to remove people from Kaya Mandi by superintendent Oosthuysen.<sup>145</sup> However, it also illustrates just how complicated life could be for a Kaya Mandi resident during that time.

The above case was by no means an isolated incident.<sup>146</sup> The case of David Gxuluwe took place while the Olivier Commission was determining its findings. With the report indicating that it wanted to limit the population of Kaya Mandi it is clear that petty harassment was a tool to hopefully force people, specifically families, away.

There were many different forms of minor regulations that served to annoy and disempowered the residents of Kaya Mandi. Another example was the case of Milton Hani<sup>147</sup> who had his general dealer's trading license revoked because he did not work for a White individual. The real problem seemed to

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<sup>142</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 14 Ref. 2/23/7, Report by the Location Superintendent, 25 May, 1955.

<sup>143</sup> Ibid.

<sup>144</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 3 Ref. 2/3, Minutes of the Native Advisory Board, 3 Dec. 1957.

<sup>145</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 3 Ref. 2/3, Minutes of the Native Advisory Board Meeting, 7 Sept. 1955.

<sup>146</sup> There are many examples of removals and the difficulties associated with them in WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 2 Ref. 2/3 I or 2/OBS, 3/1/434.

<sup>147</sup> On a side note Milton was an uncle to Chris Hani and is said to have had an importance influence on Chris' political career.



have been the fact that he and some of the individuals he worked with were politically active.<sup>148</sup> This was certainly true as Milton Hani was an important political figure in Kaya Mandi. He often led meetings and rallies during this time.<sup>149</sup> Unfortunately for Hani these connections almost certainly led to the closure of his shop and denial of his application to run a general dealership in Kaya Mandi in 1957.<sup>150</sup>

When his application was rejected in 1957 he took his case to the Supreme Court in Cape Town in 1958. Hani was one of many individuals who had applied for the ability to run the general dealership. The key aspect of the application was the written resume. The first individual selected, despite giving arguably the least valid credentials, was Everitt Khati. He had almost no experience in running a shop; he never served on the Native Advisory Board and was ultimately rejected because of a stint in jail. Then the shop was allocated to Johannesburg Swartbooi who had better credentials than Khati, but was definitely not as experienced as Hani. The judge on the case sided with Hani and basically said the municipality had been ridiculous not giving it to him in the first place.<sup>151</sup>

Unfortunately for Hani the Municipality appealed the decision and won. In the appeal case the judge sided with the municipality stating that it was simply their choice who they wanted to run the shop.<sup>152</sup> Hani never got control of the general dealership. However, in 1958 he applied for and was allocated a milk depot which he lost in 1962 because of failing to pay the rent.<sup>153</sup>

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<sup>148</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 10 Ref. 2/13, Native Affairs: Trade, 1943-1958.

<sup>149</sup> T.D.M. Mosomothane, Personal Interview, 13/7/2010;

Andile "Mafisto" Mngwazi, Personal Interview, 12/1/2011. Mngwazi was born in 1956 in Kaya Mandi. He worked for Stellenbosch Farmers Winery before becoming a police officer in 1982, where he still works today as a detective.

<sup>150</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol.10 Ref. 2/13, Native Affairs: Trade, 1943-1958.

<sup>151</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 10 Ref. 2/13, Supreme Court Judgement of 3 Nov. 1958.

<sup>152</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 10 Ref. 2/13 II, Supreme Court Judgement of 17 June 1959.

<sup>153</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 10 Ref. 2/13 II, Minutes of the Native Advisory Board Meeting, 15 Sept. 1959.

The case of Milton Hani was just another example of how the residents of Kaya Mandi could do nothing without first receiving permission. This created a real struggle for the residents of Kaya Mandi as they tried to form and develop the community that had begun in the 1940s. It is clear that the intentions of the municipality and the intentions of the community were not aligned, especially from the mid-1950s onward.

This was also evident with family housing as well. With the quota system in 1955 there was an official lack of need to develop more family housing. However, despite the resolution the number of families continued to grow. In 1965 this prompted the municipality to pass a resolution committing itself to build 50 new family homes.<sup>154</sup> Pressure was added by the fact that in 1966 some 54 families had already been living in temporary structures. However, the families were removed later that year and sent to the homelands.<sup>155</sup> Additionally, 1966 saw the joining together of a group of employers in Stellenbosch to construct an additional 38 prefabricated hostels.<sup>156</sup>

Despite going through the initial planning stages the 1965 resolution to build additional homes was rescinded in 1970 and no more family homes were constructed until the 1980s. The construction of additional family homes was not the only thing rescinded in 1970. At the same time the quota system was also abolished. However, this did not mean much because the Department of Bantu Administration was still going to closely monitor the population.<sup>157</sup>

Instead of constructing more homes the municipality took a different approach to the increasing number of people in the location. By this time the hostels had become extremely crowded as industries needed more and more workers, but there was increasingly less space to house them. The solution the municipality came up with was to buy more beds. Specifically they bought

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<sup>154</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 5 Ref. 2/5/2, Memorandum of 19 Mar. 1969.

<sup>155</sup> *Resettling of African Families*, The Cape Argus, 4 Feb 1971.

<sup>156</sup> S.P. Penderis, "Kaya Mandi Hostels, Stellenbosch: Place, People and Policies," South African Geographical Journal, Vol. 76 No. 1 (1994), 34.

<sup>157</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 4 Ref. 2/5 II, Article from the Cape Times, 28 Jan. 1970.

double-decker or bunk beds so that more people could fit into the same amount of space.<sup>158</sup>

The additional beds only served to temporarily alleviate the housing problem. It was in the 1970s that the municipality constructed more hostels. In 1971 the municipality again suggested that employers join together to construct additional housing.<sup>159</sup> Twelve more hostels were built; three for Blake's Bricks, three for Bruply, two for the Stellenbosch University, with one each for Stellenbosch Farmers' Winery, LTA Construction Co. Ltd., AF Lamberts Pty. Ltd., and Fruit Packers Ltd.<sup>160</sup> These are the round hostels that people still live in today. It also marked the last significant housing development prior to the 1980s.

## **Social aspects and development**

Throughout the 1940s Kaya Mandi was being developed as a community complete with all necessary social organizations. Family homes, churches, a school, and a sports field were constructed. It was partially because of this aspect that Kaya Mandi was seen as a model location. Councillor H.P. Cruse, in an interview with the Secretary of Native Affairs in 1948, even stated that Kaya Mandi "remained a source of pride to the Council and which accommodated a happy native population with thriving schools and churches and which keenly made use of the adult educational facilities offered."<sup>161</sup> Cruse went on to state that the population was increasing and additional housing was necessary. The problem was the cost and therefore it seemed

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<sup>158</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 4 Ref. 2/5/1 I, Article from the Cape Times, 25 Sept. 1963.

<sup>159</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 4 Ref. 2/5 III, Letter from the Municipality, 2 Nov. 1971.

<sup>160</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 4 Ref. 2/5/1, Bantoesake Behuisings Hostelkamers vir Enkellopendes, 1972.

<sup>161</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 4/1/116, Interview with the Secretary of Native Affairs, Nov. 8 1948.

Cruse was in part attempting to make the situation seem more positive in order to gain support for additional funding.<sup>162</sup>

The initial developments and advancements all took place under Blok's time as superintendent and despite the increasing restrictions in the 1950s there was also some community development, especially in sports, under Oosthuysen.

In 1942 the construction of sports fields and tennis courts as well as the first churches in Kaya Mandi took place. The first churches in Kaya Mandi were the Anglican Church, the Wesleyan Church and the Dutch Reformed Church.<sup>163</sup> The site that the Dutch Reformed Church was situated on would also share the space with the school.

The school in Kaya Mandi was just a primary school and no high school existed until 1993.<sup>164</sup> Before the school building was completed it was operated out of one of the type C houses that had originally been designed to hold single labourers.<sup>165</sup> Once the formal school was opened there were just 40 pupils. However, as the population of Kaya Mandi grew so did the number of school children and by 1949 there were 103 students. It is, however, hard to gauge what percentage of children from within the location as a whole attended school during that time. This can only be gauged in 1955 when more definite statistics became available.<sup>166</sup>

In 1955, there were approximately 200 children in Kaya Mandi and 157 of them in attendance at the school.<sup>167</sup> This is an attendance rate of about 75%, an even better percentage than it sounds, because the exact age of the

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<sup>162</sup> Ibid.

<sup>163</sup> WC Archives, 3/STB Vol. 10 Ref. 2/14, Bantoesake: Kerke in Kaya Mandi, 1943-1969.

<sup>164</sup> 1993 was the first year that had any matriculates but the high school was combined with the primary school. The high school did not have its own building until the 1995 school year.

<sup>165</sup> Drotske, 65; Songo Fipaza, Personal Interview, 01/10/2009.

<sup>166</sup> Drotske, 69.

<sup>167</sup> Ibid. 69.

children is unknown and presumably some of the 200 were either too young or too old for primary school. 1955 also marked the first year that Standard 6 (now called Grade 8) was offered in Kaya Mandi. At this time there were just four teachers with Mr. Damane, who had been the principal since 1945, also teaching Standard 5 (Grade 7) and Standard 6 (Grade8).<sup>168</sup> The school was a fairly disciplined place and corporal punishment was not out of the question.<sup>169</sup> In general there seem to be universally fond memories of school life in Kaya Mandi with concerts and performances that everyone was required to take part in.<sup>170</sup>

Schools, teachers, and principles held a tenuous position within the context of urban Black environments in South Africa. This was because of how the apartheid system had attempted to use the education system to maintain White supremacy.<sup>171</sup>

In the period from 1945 to 1953 throughout South Africa there were great advances in the education of Blacks, in terms of percentage of individuals attending and also their pass rates. Despite these advances many Blacks never attended school and the majority failed to complete primary school.<sup>172</sup>

In 1953 the Bantu Education Act was passed and brought with it a large increase in enrolment throughout South Africa. However, the system could not bear the burden of the additional pupils. Class sizes rose dramatically and the quality of teaching decreased.<sup>173</sup> Consequently teachers and other school administrators at times were viewed as being part of the apartheid regime. As a result those in the educational system who had been some of the most

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<sup>168</sup> Drotske, 68; T.D.M. Mosomothane, Personal Interview, 13/7/2010.

<sup>169</sup> 'PoPo' Setona, Personal Interview, 20/8/2010.

<sup>170</sup> 'PoPo' Setona, Personal Interview, 20/8/2010;

T.D.M Mosomothane Personal Interview, 13/7/2010.

<sup>171</sup> Hunt Davis, Bantu Education and the Education of Africans in South Africa, (Center for International Studies: Ohio University, 1972) 22.

<sup>172</sup> *Ibid.* 39.

<sup>173</sup> *Ibid.* 46-47.

respected community individuals, at times became targets.<sup>174</sup> This was why the school in Kaya Mandi would become a target of rage in just a few short years.

Despite the political difficulties between 1942 and 1960, Kaya Mandi was a harmonious place. It was considered one of the cleanest locations in South Africa and if for instance a pipe broke in a house it was fixed by a plumber quickly.<sup>175</sup> The houses were repainted each year and a sense of standards was maintained. A strong sense of community identity developed out of this clean and orderly environment and unified the people further against the repression presented by apartheid. For the children in Kaya Mandi, even in the 1950s and 1960s, apartheid was not always very apparent.<sup>176</sup> This was because Kaya Mandi was a self contained community and children had little reason to leave the location. Younger children were also relatively unaffected by the pass laws which often tormented their parents.<sup>177</sup>

Kaya Mandi, in addition to being clean, was also safe. There was very little serious crime amongst the residents and, unlike other places in South Africa where gangs wreaked havoc, there were no gangs in Kaya Mandi.<sup>178</sup> There were, however, a few examples of crime such as a break-in at the location offices in 1946<sup>179</sup> and the case of a girl being raped in 1957.<sup>180</sup> Although one can assume that there was certainly more crime, either it was not reported or it simply did not make it into any reports. The fact that there is not a more substantial mention of crime suggests that it must have been low. This is contradictory to one report from the municipality in 1960, which stated that

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<sup>174</sup> T.D. M. Mosomothane, Personal Interview, 13/7/2010.

<sup>175</sup> Andile "Mafisto" Mngwazi, Personal Interview, 12/1/2011.

<sup>176</sup> C.B. Ndlebe, Personal Interview, 3/12/2010. Ndlebe was born in Kaya Mandi in 1960. He began teaching in the early 1990s before becoming principal of Makupula High School in 2008, where he still works.

<sup>177</sup> Nearly all residents still alive from this time period look back on Kaya Mandi with very fond nostalgia.

<sup>178</sup> Albert Chungwa Personal Interview, 23/9/2010.

<sup>179</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 1 Ref. 2/2 I, Minutes of the Native Advisory Board, 10 Sept. 1946.

<sup>180</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 2 Ref. 2/3 I, Minutes of the Native Advisory Board, 3 Dec. 1957.

'rape was the order of the day.'<sup>181</sup> This however does not seem to hold true from either anecdotal or archival reports.

Comparatively, Soweto saw the emergence of gangs during the 1940s and 1950s. This was a result of the massive shift in population from the rural to the urban environment. Due to the influx there was a general lack of facilities including the number of schools. As a result over fifty percent of school age children could not find a place in school. Lack of schooling and lack of jobs led young individuals to resort to crime. These tsotsi's especially targeted individuals who were new to the area, generally hostel dwellers that were unaware of the danger that surrounded them. The gangs formed along ethnic lines and culminated in the 1957 Dube Riots between Zulu hostel dwellers and Basotho gang members. These problems were exacerbated by ethnic zoning, a deliberate strategy by the apartheid government to, "Divide and Rule," pitting one tribe against another.<sup>182</sup>

Fortunately, life in Kaya Mandi painted a very different picture. The main reason for this was that nearly everyone came from what is today the Eastern Cape, the former Ciskei and Transkei, which can be seen in Figures 3 and 4 on the following page.<sup>183</sup>

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<sup>181</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 13, Ref. 2/21/7, Bantoesake: Lokasie- Kaya Mandi: Onluste; Report on Riots, 1960.

<sup>182</sup> Bonner and Segal, 3.

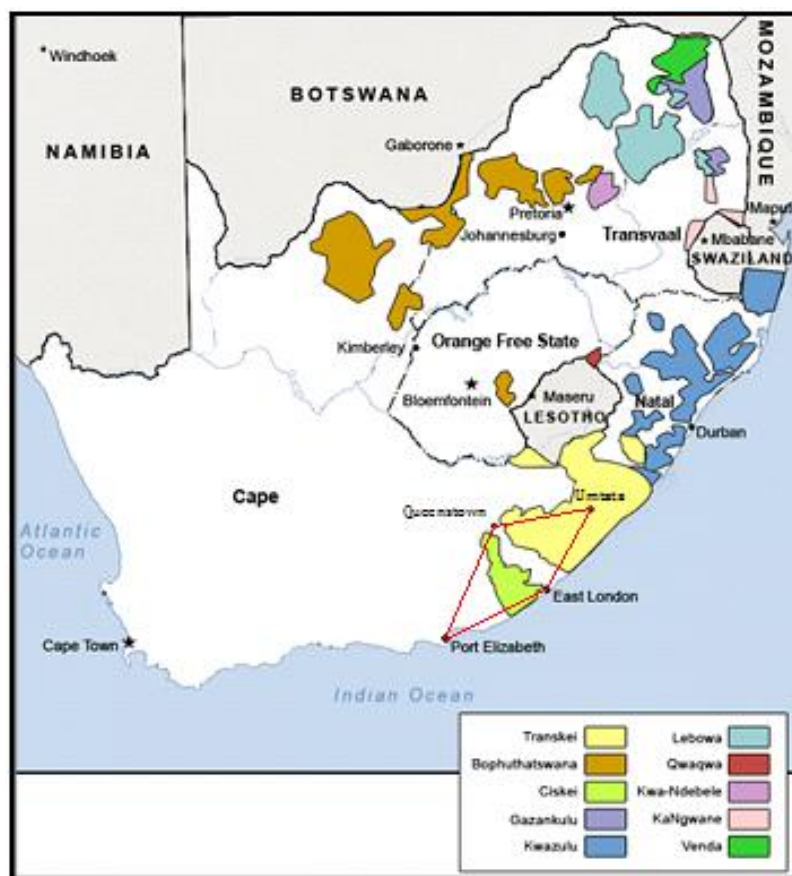
<sup>183</sup> It is important to note that a handful of people were born either locally in Stellenbosch, or came from nearby towns such as Paarl or Ndabeni; Drotske, 101-104.



**Figure 3: Map of Modern Western Cape and Eastern Cape<sup>184</sup>**



**Figure 4: Map of the Homelands<sup>185</sup>**



<sup>184</sup> Personally adapted through Google Earth

<sup>185</sup> "Bantustans," *South Africa: Overcoming Apartheid*, (MATRIX: Michigan State University, 1984) WEB. 20 Jan. 2010.  
<http://overcomingapartheid.msu.edu/multimedia.php?id=6>.

Figure 3 on the previous page shows modern South Africa including the Western Cape and Eastern Cape. The highlighted locations of Umtata, Queenstown, Port Elizabeth, and East London represent major towns or cities on the fringes of where the residents came from. The second map, Figure 4, illustrates the homelands, the yellow being the Transkei and the green being the Ciskei. Comparing the two red areas indicates that most of the residents from Kaya Mandi came from areas that fell within these two homelands.

Due to the area where these individuals came from Kaya Mandi was dominated by one ethnicity, namely the Xhosa. This can be seen in Table 6 below. The best information on this comes from a 1955 survey of families living in Kaya Mandi. This survey provides the place of birth for nearly all of the family home residents of that era.<sup>186</sup> Unfortunately due to lack of information it is more difficult to determine the exact location from where those individuals living in the single quarters came, because they came and went regularly. However, it is certain that they came from the same relative area based on anecdotal evidence from residents. The earliest hostels were also grouped based on the location where people originated from and later it was based on the places where they worked.<sup>187</sup>

**Table 6: Ethnic Breakdown of Family Homes in 1955**<sup>188</sup>

Ethnic Group	Men	Women	Total	Percentage (%)
Xhosa	23	25	48	47.52
Fingo	15	17	32	31.68
Sotho	4	10	14	13.86
Tswana	3	2	5	4.95
Swazi	1	1	2	1.89
<b>Total</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>101</b>	<b>100</b>

<sup>186</sup> Drotske, 101-104.

<sup>187</sup> Shumi Ndlebe, Personal Interview, 7/12/2010. Ndlebe was born in 1942 and is the mother of C.B. Ndlebe. Her family worked on a farm in Stellenbosch before moving to Kaya Mandi in 1944. She is an active member of the community and currently runs a homestay.

<sup>188</sup> Drotske, 106.

Based on the table on the previous page, clearly the two largest groups represented are Xhosa and Fingo. The Fingo population, however, were possibly comprised mainly of ethnically Xhosa individuals. This may be ascribed to the Fingo population explosion that took place as far back as the mid 1800s. This explosion was due to the re-classification of Xhosa people by colonial officials in the mid 1800s under the guise of a humanitarian process to get around labour restrictions that prevent Xhosas but allowed Fingos to work in the Cape Province. This was easy to do given the similarity of language and culture between the two groups. As a result there was very little difference between Fingos and Xhosas, whether it was in the 1850s or 1950s.<sup>189</sup>

Due to the similar language and cultural customs they have been generally assimilated in the broader title of Xhosa. This assimilation combined with similar patterns of migration is the main reason that today the vast majority of the people in Kaya Mandi are still Xhosa. If you were to combine these two groups into one in 1955 nearly 80% of the total family population would be considered Xhosa. This meant there was a fairly homogenous culture in Kaya Mandi with individuals sharing the same traditions and customs. The fact that it was an extremely small, relatively close knit community helped keep crime rates were very low.<sup>190</sup>

With the common culture and tradition of most individuals in Kaya Mandi it was fairly quiet. There simply were no major problems due to tribal differences. In a more contemporary sense even the xenophobic attacks that have sprung up, at times extremely violently, in the Western Cape have not

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<sup>189</sup> Timothy J. Stapleton, "The Expansion of a Pseudo-Ethnicity in the Eastern Cape: Reconsidering the Fingo 'Exodus' of 1865", International Journal of African Historical Studies, Vol, 29 No. 2, 233-250. JSTOR Web. 3 Nov. 2010.

<sup>190</sup> Shumi Ndlebe, Personal Interview, 7/12/2010;  
T.D.M. Mosomothane, Personal Interview, 13/7/2010.

plagued Kaya Mandi to the same degree.<sup>191</sup> Even when neighbouring townships, such as Mbekweni in Paarl, experienced violence Kaya Mandi has remained relatively calm.<sup>192</sup>

In addition to the ethnic breakdown provided by the 1955 study of the families there is quite a lot of information regarding occupations. The first and most interesting fact is that 44 out of the 46 men in the family households, or 96%, were employed. Although few women worked, they often did so if there was no male figure who could earn money and in every home at least one person was employed.<sup>193</sup> Individuals that lived in the single quarters are not accounted for in any of these statistics but they were brought specifically as labourers and subsequently had near universal employment. The fact was that if you were unemployed the local municipality did everything it could to deport you to one of the reserves. This near universal employment is in stark contrast to the official unemployment rate of 22.3% experienced in Kaya Mandi today.<sup>194</sup>

In 1955 the people employed from the family quarters were employed in a variety of ways. Individuals worked at the Tanning Company, the Stellenbosch University, the Municipality of Stellenbosch, the various churches in Kaya Mandi, General Box Company, Blake's Bricks, Stellenbosch Farmers' Winery, and many other companies. Incomes differed considerably, depending on the job. Some individuals earned just £4 or £5 per month working at the university or at the tanning company. At the same time two individuals earned £45 and £24 per month respectively working at the same locations indicating a discrepancy of skill or position. The man who earned £45 a month working at

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<sup>191</sup> "Minister Tackles Xenophobic Attacks." *IOL News*. IOL News, 12/07/ 2010. Web. 20 Jan 2011. <http://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/minister-tackles-xenophobic-attacks-1.489525>.

<sup>192</sup> Ibid.

<sup>193</sup> *Drotske*, 123-124.

<sup>194</sup> "Stellenbosch Municipality Integrated Development Plan (IDP) 2011," *E-Library*, Stellenbosch Municipality, May 2011, WEB 1 June, 2011. <http://www.stellenbosch.gov.za/jsp/e-lib/list.jsp?catid=235>; Some individuals estimate this percentage to be closer to 30% but it is hard to gauge. Songo Fipaza, Personal Interview, 01/10/2009.

the university was G.L. Mangoela. He was the first secretary of the Native Advisory Board in Kaya Mandi in 1942 and worked as a Xhosa language lecturer. In contrast, Philemon Ndlebe worked as a watchman for the university earning just £4 a month.<sup>195</sup>

Both Mangoela and Ndlebe lived in the family quarters. Despite their wage discrepancy in general the people in the family quarters could be considered, relatively speaking, middle class. They generally held positions that were semi-skilled or skilled as opposed to the men in the single quarters who were largely unskilled labourers.<sup>196</sup> Those living in the family quarters generally took on the leadership roles within the community. This included working as teachers, preachers, or for the Native Advisory Board.<sup>197</sup> As a result of their higher education and in some cases better financial circumstances they also caused the most difficulties for the municipality. They were the first to complain about a situation and could not easily be controlled.<sup>198</sup> This can best be exemplified through the efforts by the municipality to relocate many of the original families to the location at Eerste Rivier, efforts that were abandoned because of the families fight for their right to remain.<sup>199</sup>

While some like Mangoela enjoyed a modicum of financial success in Kaya Mandi the majority of people did not. Although there was almost universal employment, what they earned was little and many were forced to supplement their income in whatever way possible. Sometimes this meant children working in the single quarters to earn money. For instance, Andile Mnqwazi, now a detective at the police station, upon the death of both his parents in the late 1960s had to work as a cook before school from 5 till 7:30am and from 4 till 10pm after school for R1 a week.<sup>200</sup>

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<sup>195</sup> Drotske, 126-128; Shumi Ndlebe, Personal Interview, 7/12/2010.

<sup>196</sup> T.D.M Mosomothane, Personal Interview, 13/7/2010.

<sup>197</sup> Drotske, 124.

<sup>198</sup> WC Archves 3/STB Vol. 13 Ref. 2/21/7, Report Following the Pass Riots of 1960, 1960.

<sup>199</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 1 Ref. 2/2 II Special Meeting of the Bantoe Administration Committee, 14 June 1960.

<sup>200</sup> Andile "Mafisto" Mnqwazi, Personal Interview, 12/1/2011.

There is also the case of Shumi Ndlebe, mother of the current Makupula High School Principle, C.B. Ndlebe, who worked washing and drying clothes for the single quarters. However, she was soon arrested for doing so because women were not allowed to visit the (male only) single quarters.<sup>201</sup> The fear of prostitution meant a total ban of women in the single quarters. Fortunately for her, the case was dropped once it became clear that her intentions were genuine and it was recognized that to deny someone a legitimate means of income would be foolish.<sup>202</sup>

It was this sort of petty harassment on the part of the local police that did not win them any favours with the residents. Ironically, the police were Black members of the community. They simply had a different form of employment, which at times pitted them against their neighbours. The fact that they had worked as an extension of the government meant that there was often animosity between them and the rest of the community. This was something that would also come to a spearhead in 1960.<sup>203</sup>

Life was certainly not easy for the early residents of Kaya Mandi as illustrated by the number of infant mortalities. Blacks and Coloureds maintained much higher infant mortality rates than their White counterparts in Stellenbosch.<sup>204</sup>

In 1950 when the death rate for White infants under one year old was 0/1000 the Black rate was 611.11/1000, and the Coloured rate was 99.68/1000.<sup>205</sup> The White rate was certainly not zero every year. In 1952 the White mortality rate was 7.09.<sup>206</sup> In addition the rate of 611.11/1000 for Blacks is extremely high. The reason the infant death rate was so high was because there were very few women in the population and consequently very few births meaning

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<sup>201</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 4/1/116, Regulations and Municipal Association: Kaya Mandi Location, 1941-1945.

<sup>202</sup> Shumi Ndlebe, Personal Interview, 7/12/2010.

<sup>203</sup> 'PoPo' Setona, Personal Interview, 20/8/2010.

<sup>204</sup> WC Archives, SGD Vol. 179. Ref. 1/4/136. Stellenbosch Municipality Yearly Reports. 1940-1953.

<sup>205</sup> WC Archives, SGD Vol. 179. Ref. 1/4/136. Stellenbosch Municipality Yearly Reports. 1950.

<sup>206</sup> Ibid.



that each death would make the statistics look extreme. That being said, the Black infant mortality rate at the time still appears to be significant when looking at the number of actual deaths of infants. In 1950 there were just 18 reported births in Kaya Mandi and 11 infant deaths. Comparatively, for Whites in 1950 there were 130 births and no deaths.<sup>207</sup> This attests to the discrepancy in the quality of care between the two groups.

Clearly life was not perfect for the people living in Kaya Mandi. The pass laws were a constant source of frustration and simply prevented people from conducting their lives as they saw fit. Residents could not do anything without permission, such as opening a business, travel, or even walking through Stellenbosch after 10pm. There was simply a constant state of restriction.<sup>208</sup> In addition to the frustration created by the great number of deportations that took place in the second half of the 1950s it is clear to see why the residents of Kaya Mandi were becoming increasingly agitated.

However, amidst all of the rising tensions caused by apartheid in the 1950s there was still time for relaxation. Sport, like tennis, rugby, and soccer was a major aspect of life in Kaya Mandi. The main sport during the early stages of Kaya Mandi was rugby.<sup>209</sup> This was prior to the association of rugby as a White and subsequently apartheid sport. This brought about a major shift towards soccer, especially in the 1970s.<sup>210</sup> Rugby was simply a Kaya Mandi and a Stellenbosch sport. There were three original rugby teams in Kaya Mandi: Spesbona, the Day Breakers, and the Spring Roses. There were two sports fields. One was dedicated just to rugby and the other to soccer, when soccer began in 1956.<sup>211</sup>

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<sup>207</sup> WC Archives, SGD Vol. 179. Ref. 1/4/136. Stellenbosch Municipality Yearly Reports. 1940-1952.

<sup>208</sup> 'PoPo' Setona, Personal Interview, 20/8/2010.

<sup>209</sup> Albert Chungwa Personal Interview, 23/9/2010;  
T.D.M. Mosomothane, Personal Interview, 13/7/2010.

<sup>210</sup> T.D.M. Mosomothane, Personal Interview, 13/7/2010.

<sup>211</sup> Monde Mayekiso, Personal Interview, 23/8/2010.; WC Archives  
3/STB Vol. 1 Ref 2/2 III, Program for Republic Feast, 23 Apr. 1966.



Formalized soccer started in Kaya Mandi later than rugby. It started principally through the efforts of one man, T.D.M. Mosomothane, in 1956 with the Bantu Lads Soccer Club. He came from Bloemfontein to be a teacher at the Kaya Mandi Primary School. He soon saw that rugby was the principle sport and, favouring soccer, decided to start his own team.<sup>212</sup> In the years that followed other soccer teams were formed, including the City Lads, Santos, and the Mighty Five Stars. The Mighty Five Stars, founded in 1972, was an association that began with workers from the Stellenbosch Farmers' Winery. These workers were predominantly from the single quarters and developed a program that still exists today.<sup>213</sup>

One can get a clear sense of what kind of community activities there were based on the 1966 Republic Feast Day activities program. The year 1966 marked the first time that Republic Day was celebrated with a festival in Kaya Mandi. It was held on Saturday 23 April with the following activities: races for school children, choirs, two legged race, potato race, sack race, traditional dances, netball, tennis, high jump, basket race, egg and spoon race, needle race, boxing, weightlifting, soccer (Bantu Lads against City Lads), and ultimately rugby (Spesbona against a combined team of the Day Breakers and Spring Roses, and then a second match, Spring Roses against Day Breakers). The activities were organized by the Native Advisory Board with rugby, being the penultimate event, clearly showing its importance.<sup>214</sup> The residents also participated without qualm in what was ultimately a political occasion.

Apart from the welcome distraction that sport provided, the 1960s saw the advent of another distraction, alcohol. The first official beer hall in Kaya Mandi was opened in December of 1962.<sup>215</sup> Previously the only form of alcohol was in the form of 'kaffir' beer. Readily available alcohol was something the

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<sup>212</sup> T.D.M. Mosomothane, Personal Interview, 13/7/2010

<sup>213</sup> Sylvain Cubizolles, Le Football en Afrique du Sud: Vecu d'un Township au Cap Occidental. (Karthala, 2010) 52.

<sup>214</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 1 Ref. 2/2 III, Program for Republic Feast, 23 Apr. 1966.

<sup>215</sup> *Word Modern*, Eikestadnuus, 1 Feb. 1963.

municipality had feared in the past. This fear was even one of the motivations for the creation of Kaya Mandi in the first place.<sup>216</sup> Similarly, when Langa was opened alcohol was prohibited. It was not until the municipality of Cape Town recognized that the ban had been ineffective and realized the economic potential of a beer hall that one was established.<sup>217</sup>

The introduction of a beer hall created a small split in the population in Kaya Mandi. The members of the Native Advisory Board, who were from the family quarters, did not want the beer hall to open. They believed alcohol to be morally degenerative.<sup>218</sup> They also believed it to be religiously wrong and cited Paarl as an example of the evils associated with beer halls. However, the residents of the single quarters wanted it.<sup>219</sup> It is also likely that the municipality wanted it for the same reason as Cape Town, namely to generate revenue. Interestingly, the members of the Native Advisory Board may have had a point as in 1965 in their general meeting they discussed the 'alarming' amount of disturbances caused by fighting.<sup>220</sup> Although the two are not directly linked there certainly may have been some connection.

Kaya Mandi witnessed many changes throughout the 1940s and 1950s. However, the increasingly difficult circumstances brought on in the 1950s specifically through tighter influx control brought increasing political tension. This was characteristic of much of South Africa as a whole and boiled over nationally and locally in 1960.

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<sup>216</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 4/1/120, Report on Inspection at Stellenbosch by C.W. Slarke Inspector of Native Locations, 4 Aug. 1938.

<sup>217</sup> Muchaparara Musemwa, "The Struggle for Survival: The Municipalisation of Business Enterprise in Langa Township and the African Response, 1927-1948," *Studies in the History of Cape Town*, Vol. 7 ed. Elizabeth van Heyningen (Centre for African Studies: University of Cape Town, 1994) 136-137, 143-145.

<sup>218</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 9 Ref. 2/11/1, Extract from the Minutes of the Native Advisory Board, 14 Nov. 1961.

<sup>219</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 2. Ref. 2/3 II, Minutes of the Native Advisory Board, 12 Sept. 1961.

<sup>220</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 3 Ref. 2/3/2 II, Minutes of the Native Advisory Board, 19 Oct. 1965.

## Chapter 3: Politics and struggle

The history of politics in Kaya Mandi began almost immediately with the formation of the location itself. The earliest form of politics within Kaya Mandi was the Native Advisory Board. The Native Advisory Board was a system by which the local residents would be allowed to voice their opinions in the governance of their location. It did so by providing a direct line of communication from local residents to Native Advisory Board members, then to the location superintendent and, finally, to the Stellenbosch Municipal Council who had the ultimate authority.<sup>221</sup> This gave locals more the illusion of a say than an actual say, but it was still an important aspect of community life. It was in fact one individual in Kaya Mandi, G. L. Mangoela, who actually made sure that the Native Advisory Board was established promptly.<sup>222</sup>

In 1943 the first Native Advisory Board was established with Mangoela as its secretary. The advisory board consisted of four local individuals and a chairman who was almost always the superintendent of the location.<sup>223</sup> As chairman and superintendent he would have the final say in almost all matters regarding the location. He specifically represented the interests of the Stellenbosch Municipality and followed through on any updates of regulations or provisions they made. Additionally, he was the intermediary between the Native Advisory Board and the Stellenbosch Municipal Council. The first superintendent was H.D.R. Blok and as a result he was the first chairman of the Native Advisory Board.

Especially at the start of the location, it is clear that competing interests within the location itself meant the Native Advisory Board was not always respected on the local level. This can be illustrated by the complaints by Mangoela in

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<sup>221</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 4/1/116, Regulations and Municipal Association: Kaya Mandi Location, 1941-1945.

<sup>222</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 4/1/116, Letter from Gideon Mangoela Requesting a Native Advisory Board, 1942.

<sup>223</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 4/1/116, Regulations and Municipal Association: Kaya Mandi Location, 1941-1945.

1944 regarding a location headman. Mangoela said that the headman was undermining the interests of the Native Advisory Board. The headman was a local leader that took on the more traditional role of being in charge in the location.<sup>224</sup> Unfortunately there was not much more written on the subject, but it suggests that Kaya Mandi did not always speak with one voice, even from the start. This was most likely the result of differences between education levels and individual urbanization.

One of the most interesting relationships, because of its complexity, was between the superintendent and the local members of the advisory board. As the intermediary the superintendent was often playing on both sides of the fence. In some cases this helped the residents of Kaya Mandi, however, more often than not the superintendent would side with the municipality. This mixed response was due to the fact that the superintendent had to enforce the rules he was given and at times this left little room for interpretation. The complexity of the dynamics between the two sides was often manifested in issues about housing. Importantly, while housing had been the single most dominant social issue in Kaya Mandi, it was by no means the only type of issue raised under the advisory board. The advisory board dealt with all aspects of the lives of people in Kaya Mandi. This meant that mundane requests, such as asking that the chimneys on the houses be fixed because they leaked when it rained, were addressed.<sup>225</sup> There were also more important disputes involved such as the definition of the term 'family' in the location regulations.<sup>226</sup>

The first location regulations were published in 1942 and translated into Xhosa by Mangoela himself. It stated definitions for the various words in the regulations such as 'superintendent' and 'family.' Under the term 'family' the regulations stipulated that once a boy turned 18 and once a girl turned 21 they

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<sup>224</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 4, Bantoesake: Behuising, 1943-1954.

<sup>225</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 4/1/116, Regulations and Municipal Association: Kaya Mandi Location, 1941-1945.

<sup>226</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 4/1/116, Letter from Mangoela, August 14, 1942.

were no longer technically considered part of the 'family' unit.<sup>227</sup> Being under the term 'family' meant that you were entitled to certain benefits. Principally it kept you safe from deportation and free from paying rent. Upon leaving the 'family' and being considered a 'lodger' you were no longer entitled to this security and had to pay rent. The concern was that the location, already an overcrowded place, would expand far too quickly and so this was an attempt to force people to leave. In 1942 Mangoela, wrote on the behalf of the community, to the superintendent at the time, Blok, and laid out a series of grievances. The letter most importantly argued that being part of a family does not change by age.<sup>228</sup> Unfortunately for Mangoela the ruling regarding the issue did not fall in his favour and the terms were left as they were.

Mangoela was arguably one of the first formal political activists in Kaya Mandi because he wrote to the municipality incessantly, laying complaints.<sup>229</sup> At one point the municipality even tried to stop responding to him because, "It would appear that the more one writes to Mangoela the more subject matter is afforded him for criticism resulting in another spate of correspondence."<sup>230</sup> Unfortunately for him and the residents of Kaya Mandi it was rare for the municipality to side favourably on his complaints in any real kind of way.

The political activism within Kaya Mandi steadily gathered momentum and there were always a series of meetings and marches which later became protests. This happened directly in line with the national trend that saw the 1940s as a period of increased political activity across South Africa. In 1944 there was one of the first formalized meetings of the ANC in Kaya Mandi.<sup>231</sup> When the government announced in 1945 that the pass laws were going to be extended to include women, again meetings were called for. The main

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<sup>227</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 4/1/116, Regulations and Municipal Association. Kaya Mandi Location, 1941-1945.

<sup>228</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 4/1/120, Letter from G. Mangoela, August 14, 1942.

<sup>229</sup> T.D.M. Mosomothane, Personal Interview, 13/7/2010.

<sup>230</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 4/1/120, Response to the letter from Mangoela, August 14, 1942.

<sup>231</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 13 Ref. 2/21/3, Letter from H.D.R Blok to H.P. Cruse (Mayor of Stellenbosch), May 16, 1944.

speakers were members of the Kaya Mandi community, including Mangoela. The people of Kaya Mandi saw the pass laws for exactly what it was, “the actual effect of laws of this kind is to expel Africans from the industrial areas.”<sup>232</sup> This would become more refined over time and ultimately came down to an attempt to remove Black families who were not essential in the industrial areas, leaving only single Black male labourers.<sup>233</sup>

There were additional meetings in 1946 as several prominent individuals from Cape Town came to speak and people were urged to burn their passes. However, it met with very limited success. This illustrates also that in the 1940s, despite the increased formal political activity, there was a relative reluctance on the behalf of people to take part, especially in Kaya Mandi.<sup>234</sup> This was because life in Kaya Mandi was not altogether intolerable during the 1940s. There were additional extensions being built to house individuals and families.<sup>235</sup> Also community life was being upgraded through the construction of a school, adult educational facilities, and the development of sports teams.<sup>236</sup> Things really did not begin to change for the worse until the early 1950s. Consequently there were few meetings and essentially no protests or marches, with only minor disruptions in Kaya Mandi during this time period.

The small population and relatively fine living standards contributed to a relative lack of engagement politically within the community. Kaya Mandi had maintained a limited population in the 1940s.<sup>237</sup> As a result, for nearly all major political issues residents would travel to Langa to partake in demonstrations. Langa was a much larger location than Kaya Mandi and it

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<sup>232</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 13 Ref. 2/21/5, Announcement to join anti-pass protests, October 21, 1945.

<sup>233</sup> WC Archives, 3/STB Vol. 2 Ref. 2/2a, Olivier Commission Report, December 1955.

<sup>234</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 13 Ref. 2/21/7, Anti-Pass Meetings Kaya Mandi, 11 Aug. 1946. The archive does not actually name the individuals other than a man known as Phillips who it says is, “a well known Native leader.”

<sup>235</sup> WC Archives, 3/STB Vol. 4/1/38, First Extension of Subeconomic Housing Scheme- Kaya Mandi, 7 March 1944.

<sup>236</sup> T.D.M. Mosomothane, Personal Interview, 13/7/2010.

<sup>237</sup> WC Archives SGD Vol. 179 Ref. 1/4/136, Stellenbosh Munisipaliteit Jaarverslae 1940-1953.

was also more centrally located with regards to Cape Town. This made it much more attractive for speakers who were trying to get their word out to as many people as possible.<sup>238</sup> The political meetings in the 1940s could be largely classified as that; meetings or discussions. There were no major tensions in Kaya Mandi. However, things did change and the meetings escalated in tone throughout the 1950s to a culmination in 1960.

The 1950s in Kaya Mandi saw more vigorous meetings. In 1954 Leonard Lee-Warden and Greendwood Ngotyana came to denounce Prime Ministers Malan and Verwoerd and the increasingly more repressive apartheid regime by calling them “bugs that suck your blood.”<sup>239</sup> At the time Lee-Warden was president of the Congress of Democrats (a White party). Ngotyana was an official of the Western Cape African Nationalist Congress (ANC), and together they were campaigning for Lee-Warden to be elected a Member of Parliament. Lee-Warden was successful and served as Native Representative until 1960.<sup>240</sup> However, they sent a somewhat conflicting message. On the one hand they were actually railing against Europeans and White dominance but at the same time asking for Blacks to vote for Lee-Warden, who stereotypically fit into both those categories. Lee-Warden recognized this seeming contradiction in his speech by saying, “It shows the rotten state of our current system that you have a White to choose instead of a guy like Ngotyana.”<sup>241</sup>

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<sup>238</sup> This is provided anecdotally and also through, WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 13 Ref. 2/21/7. Anti-Pass Meetings Kaya Mandi, 11 Aug. 1946. States that individuals were going to go to Langa to participate in demonstrations.

<sup>239</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 13 Ref. 2/21/3, 20/18. Minutes of the Special Meeting of the Native Advisory Committee, 27 Oct. 1954. Superintendent Oosthuysen who was fluent in Xhosa provided a translation of the events.

<sup>240</sup> James Zug, The Guardian: The History of South Africa's Extraordinary Anti-Apartheid Newspaper. (Unisa Press: Pretoria, 2007) 134, 298; “Leonard Lee-Warden,” Biography, South African History Online, WEB 13 January, 2011. [http://v1.sahistory.org.za/pages/people/bios/lee-warden\\_1.htm](http://v1.sahistory.org.za/pages/people/bios/lee-warden_1.htm).

<sup>241</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 13 Ref. 2/21/3, Minutes of the Special Meeting of the Native Advisory Committee, 27 Oct. 1954.



Additionally they spoke about the forced removals going on in Johannesburg in which some 83,000 people had been moved.<sup>242</sup> This was a message the locals of Kaya Mandi could sympathize with. Kaya Mandi and the Western Cape in general had been subjected to the most stringent pass laws and influx control laws of anywhere in the country. Combined with the introduction of a quota system the forced removal of women in Kaya Mandi caused tensions to rise.<sup>243</sup> When Ngotyana and Lee-Warden spoke of these removals happening in Johannesburg it would have easily reflected what local Kaya Mandi residents were feeling and experiencing.

What is interesting is that the meetings were not secretive. It was allowed by the superintendent and took place in the open, despite the fact that they denounced the government. This is something that would not go on for very much longer as tensions escalated. In 1959 the Department of Bantu Administration and Development published a response with reference to these meetings, "held by Europeans in urban locations have been seditious and subversive."<sup>244</sup> It also stated that although these meetings were held legally, municipalities and location managers should be very cautious in allowing it to take place. In addition individuals should be denied entrance to these meetings when possible because the meetings were undesirable.<sup>245</sup> This was the precursor to an all out ban.

Lee-Warden and Ngotyana represented two parties: the Congress of Democrats and the ANC.<sup>246</sup> The ANC has been, particularly in most recent years, by far the most dominant party in Kaya Mandi and in South African politics. Formed in 1912, the ANC, however, has not always been the dominant role player in the political history of Kaya Mandi. Kaya Mandi

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<sup>242</sup> Ibid.

<sup>243</sup> This largely the result of following through with the recommendations put forward by the Olivier Commission. WC Archives, 3/STB Vol. 2 Ref. 2/2a, Olivier Commission Report, December 1955.

<sup>244</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 13 Ref. 2/21/5, Letter from the Department of Bantu Administration and Development, 14 May 1954.

<sup>245</sup> Ibid.

<sup>246</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 13 Ref. 2/21/3, Minutes of the Special Meeting of the Native Advisory Committee, 27 Oct. 1954.

residents were inclined towards the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) once it was formed in 1959.<sup>247</sup>

It is important to go into some of the background of the reasons why the PAC was formed and how it subsequently became influential in the Western Cape. In doing so it will be illustrated more clearly when and why the residents of Kaya Mandi acted the way they did. Kaya Mandi has never been at the forefront of national or even regional politics but rather tended to follow the trends established elsewhere.

The way in which Black politics functioned in South Africa started to change during the 1940s. Specifically within the Johannesburg context political movements began to accelerate. This was caused by the increasing urban slum population made possible by the boom in manufacturing brought on by World War II, as well as the declining conditions in the countryside that forced individuals into the cities. The tough circumstances also helped to radicalize individuals who were previously more conservative. This can be concluded from demonstrations such as the 1940s Alexandra bus boycott, and from the unionization of workers as demonstrated by the sixty separate pay strikes during 1942 and 1943. There were also complaints about housing as in the Orlando squatters' movement in 1944. These were not all specifically ANC movements but illustrated the growing discontent.<sup>248</sup>

The ANC itself was beginning to undergo fundamental changes. In 1944 the African Nationalist Congress Youth League (ANCYL), a more 'radical and militant' group, was founded on a stricter form of African Nationalism.<sup>249</sup> Some of its members vehemently opposed multiracialism and rejected communists and other groups who did not have specifically 'African' agendas.<sup>250</sup> The

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<sup>247</sup> 'PoPo' Setona, Personal Interview, 20/8/2010;  
Monde Mayekiso, Personal Interview, 23/8/2010.

<sup>248</sup> Ibid, 33-55.

<sup>249</sup> Tom Lodge, "The Cape Town Troubles, March-April 1960." Journal of Southern African Studies Vol. 4 No. 2 (Apr 1978), 217. *JSTOR*. Web. 15 Oct. 2010.

<sup>250</sup> Ibid.

ANCYL however, was continually thwarted in pressing forth its agenda within the ANC. The Program of Action, an ANCYL initiated movement, was introduced in 1948 and adopted in 1949, but it never really existed other than on paper. It lacked any real support having had just about 19 paid members.<sup>251</sup> Despite its lack of numerical or financial support and the initial feelings of frustration some members of the ANCYL had with the ANC, it began to warm towards both the ANC and non-African groups by the 1950s. This was due to the fact that ANCYL members began moving up within the ranks of the ANC. This is largely illustrated by Walter Sisulu becoming secretary general in 1949 and Albert Luthuli being elected as President General in 1952.<sup>252</sup>

In 1952 the Defiance Campaign started and followed the floundering efforts of the Program of Action. The Defiance Campaign acted with the broad support of the ANC and was subsequently much larger than anything the Program of Action could have achieved on its own. The Defiance Campaign was designed to have trained individuals break minor apartheid laws, stand trial, and subsequently go to jail. The attempt here was to simply overwhelm the system. The movement was a success in terms of promoting the ANC as their membership grew steadily during this time.<sup>253</sup> However, the campaign itself was largely a failure. The government simply instituted harsher penalties and began arresting more of its leaders. As a result the campaign was called off in 1953.

Following the Defiance Campaign the Congress of the People was formed in 1955. This conference was largely controlled by the ANC, the Congress of Democrats, the Indian Congress, the Coloured People's Congress, the South African Peace Council, and the Congress of Trade Unions. One of the principal achievements of the congress was the Freedom Charter that was officially adopted in 1956. Some individuals within the ANCYL, however, felt that their efforts were being betrayed by some of the leaders within the ANC,

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<sup>251</sup> Feit, 189.

<sup>252</sup> Lodge, *The Cape Town Troubles*, 217.

<sup>253</sup> Feit, 190.

several of whom were former ANCYL members. The Freedom Charter was a prime example of this betrayal because it stated that, 'all national groups shall have equal rights'. This was felt to be inconsistent with promoting the rights of the African majority.<sup>254</sup> Additionally, the very acceptance and allegiance between the ANC and the Congress of Democrats angered members of the ANCYL who had always been opposed to multiracialism.<sup>255</sup>

The division that began with the creation of the ANCYL in 1944 was about to be complete. The nationalists within the ANC had endured a failed Program of Action, a failed Defiance Campaign, the election of the National Party in 1948 and a continued rejection of their nationalistic agenda, as illustrated by the Freedom Charter. The result was that the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) was formed in 1959 as a splinter group of the ANC. The leader of the PAC would be Robert Sobukwe who lectured at the University of the Witwatersrand. The main principles were a rejection of multiculturalism, the Freedom Charter, and of course apartheid legislation.<sup>256</sup> However, it lacked a clear vision of what it wished to achieve.

The newly formed PAC was competing directly with the ANC for membership. This was no easy task going against the oldest party that had boasted a membership of 200,000 in the early 1950s.<sup>257</sup> Attempts to garner support in and around Cape Town began just after the inception of the PAC. Initially they were met with some moderate success. This was in part because the ANC had never had a large presence in the Cape. For example, the Defiance Campaign which saw nearly 80% of workers take part in the 1958 'stay-at-home' campaign around Johannesburg received little support in Cape Town.<sup>258</sup> Ultimately, the actual number of individuals officially part of the PAC

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<sup>254</sup> Feit, 190-196.

<sup>255</sup> Nana N Mahomo, The Rise of the Pan Africanist Congress of South Africa Thesis. (Massachusetts Institute of Technology: Dept. of Political Science. 1968) 20-28.

<sup>256</sup> Benjamin Pogrand, How Can Man Die Better : The Life of Robert Sobukwe (Johannesburg : Jonathan Ball, 2006) 5.

<sup>257</sup> Feit, 190.

<sup>258</sup> Lodge, *The Cape Town Troubles*, 223.

was low. The people seemed more interested in action itself not as in which organization was leading it.

Cape Town specifically and the Greater Cape Town region in general experienced sound economic growth due to industrialization brought on by World War II. In the years immediately following World War II, the population of Blacks (in the Cape) was around 35,000 but by 1960 the number was about 110,000. However, this still only comprised about ten percent of the population at large. Nevertheless, this was a huge increase in individuals and the government began trying to prevent African migration to the Cape Peninsula through the use of more stringent influx and pass laws. As a result these individuals were under some of the harshest restrictions anywhere in South Africa. These conditions were made worse by vast overcrowding already present in urban locations.<sup>259</sup> These individuals, predominantly Xhosas from the rural Transkei and Ciskei, were easily intrigued by the PAC and their more aggressive tactics.<sup>260</sup>

While politics in Kaya Mandi did not follow the exact path of political movements in other parts of the Western Cape such as Langa, it did share many similar aspects. Although life may have appeared more comfortable in Kaya Mandi than in other townships, individuals living in Kaya Mandi were by no means immune to the harsh realities of influx control and the pass laws. In addition, by 1953, the local Stellenbosch Municipality had already begun introducing its own more stringent controls.<sup>261</sup> This was especially true as illustrated by the Olivier Commission and the subsequent deportation of women. Life in general was being made more difficult for residents, especially by the lack of additional housing being provided.<sup>262</sup>

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<sup>259</sup> Ibid, 220.

<sup>260</sup> Ibid, 220-225.

<sup>261</sup> WC Archives, 3/STB Vol. 2 Ref. 2/2a, Olivier Commission Report, December 1955; WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 2 Ref. 2/3, Bantoe Administrasie: Plaaslike Bantoe-Adviesraad vir Kaya Mandi, 1954-1958.

<sup>262</sup> Ibid.

In 1954 Mangoela was again at the forefront this time fighting against large increases in rental rates for the homes in Kaya Mandi.<sup>263</sup> The Stellenbosch Municipality had been under increasing strain in terms of justification for paying for houses of Kaya Mandi residents. Part of the issue was that the taxpayers of Stellenbosch at large were effectively subsidizing the rent of Kaya Mandi residents, even though most of them did not gain direct benefit from the labour Kaya Mandi provided.<sup>264</sup> Due to the fact that housing in Kaya Mandi was based on a sub-economic housing scheme, the location was operating at a loss to the Stellenbosch Municipality. By increasing the rent, as shown in Table 7 below, and by creating a line between economic and sub-economic housing, the municipality hoped it would be possible to recuperate or limit some of its losses. Also, since the municipality was already trying to limit the number of families in Kaya Mandi, it was an easy way to put an even greater strain on families with the hope that they would move.<sup>265</sup>

**Table 7: The Change of Rent in Kaya Mandi from 1943 to 1954<sup>266</sup>**

Type of house	1943	1952	1954 Proposed	1954 Final
<b>A Type</b>	3s3d per/unit	4s6d	8s5d	8s3d
<b>B Type</b>	4s1d per/unit	5s6d	9s10d	10s3d
<b>B1 Type</b>	n/a	7s per/unit	14s9d	14s
<b>C Type</b>	1s6d per/person	2s8d	n/a <sup>267</sup>	3s6d
<b>C1 Type</b>	n/a	2s8d per/person	n/a	3s6d

<sup>263</sup> WC Archives PAA Vol. 0208 Ref. L94/a/46, Meeting of the Native Advisory Board, 7 Apr. 1954.

<sup>264</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 10 Ref. 2/13, Report of the Town Clerk to the Housing Committee Meeting, 28 Aug. 1951.

<sup>265</sup> WC Archives, 3/STB Vol. 2 Ref. 2/2a, Olivier Commission Report, December 1955.

<sup>266</sup> WC Archives PAA Vol. 0208 Ref. L94/a/46, Meeting of the Advisory Board Meeting, 7 Apr. 1954.

<sup>267</sup> These numbers are not given in Mangoela's account although he does say that they should be increased by 4d per person.

As Table 7 demonstrates that there was relatively little adjustment in rent from 1943 to 1952. However, in 1954 rents suddenly increased significantly. The rents also increased by a far greater percentage for A, B, and B1 residents as opposed to C and C1 residents. A, B, and B1 were family units, again lending credence to the fact that the municipality wanted to push families out of the location.

The rising cost of living was not the only issue facing Kaya Mandi residents. The school system changed in 1953 when the Bantu Education Act was passed. The act appeared to be beneficial in some regards, allowing for greater access, especially in rural areas, and the establishment of school boards. However, the curriculums had been changed and were designed specifically to train Blacks to fit their 'role' in society of being the subservient class.<sup>268</sup>

Parents and students rejected the notion of the Bantu Education Act all across South Africa. However, there were few effective movements against it.<sup>269</sup> In Kaya Mandi the people, frustrated by the Act, refused to establish a school board,<sup>270</sup> and eventually, once the school board was formed it refused to pay the rent on the building as a sign of protest.<sup>271</sup> This non-payment protest would feature throughout the history of Kaya Mandi, most commonly in the non-payment of rent or service fees. The Bantu Education Act was just another aspect of life that brought increased strains on the lives of families in Kaya Mandi. They were the only ones to use the school because the single labourers were not permitted to have children. As a result of the increased pressure placed on these families, they increasingly sought ways to promote their political voice. They increasingly found that voice through the PAC.

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<sup>268</sup> Tom Lodge, "The Parents' School Boycott 1955," Town and Countryside in the Transvaal edited by Belinda Bozzoli. 365-370.

<sup>269</sup> Lodge, *The Parents' School Boycott*, 365-370.

<sup>270</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 2 Ref. 2/3 I, Minutes of the Native Advisory Board, 25 May 1955.

<sup>271</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 2 Ref. 2/3 II, Purchase of School Building, 29 June 1966.



Many of the original inhabitants would have called themselves PAC supporters from 1959 onwards. This was due to several reasons. Firstly, the leader of the PAC, Robert Sobukwe, was Xhosa and from Graaff Reinet.<sup>272</sup> This is within the same geographic region that many residents of Kaya Mandi came from and being Xhosa meant they felt a special kinship. What also happened was that when individuals travelled back to the rural areas to visit family, attend high school, or boys went for their initiation rites, they were exposed to the principles of the PAC in earnest.<sup>273</sup>

In 1960, when the ANC and PAC were struggling against one another for political power, the pass laws became the target for demonstrations to both, to air their grievances and to garner support for their cause. The PAC chose to take a more aggressive stance against apartheid which appealed to the increasingly oppressed Blacks in the Western Cape.<sup>274</sup>

The pass laws were always a focus of frustration for Black residents in South Africa and Kaya Mandi specifically. The pass law riots that broke out on 21 March 1960 around South Africa were some of the most determined to date. As a result they were also met with extreme violence at times. A perfect example of this took place in Sharpeville where 69 Black people were killed, many of them shot in the back as they ran away.<sup>275</sup> As was true with political gatherings in the past, Kaya Mandi residents largely went to Langa to partake in the protests. Individuals had a history of travelling to Langa not just for protests but also for schooling.<sup>276</sup>

There was only a primary school in Kaya Mandi at this time and so individuals wanting to further their education were forced to travel. In most cases this

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<sup>272</sup> Monde Mayekiso, Personal Interview, 23/8/2010.

<sup>273</sup> 'PoPo' Setona, Personal Interview, 20/8/2010.

<sup>274</sup> Lodge, *The Cape Town Troubles*, 220-230.

<sup>275</sup> Christabel Gurney, "'A Great Cause': The Origins of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, June 1959-March 1960" Journal of Southern African Studies Vol. 26 No. 1, (March, 2000), 142. Web. JSTOR 3 Dec. 2010.

<sup>276</sup> C.B. Ndlebe, Personal Interview, 3/12/2010.

either meant returning to the Eastern Cape or going to Langa.<sup>277</sup> As a result the high school student age population, who drove many of the riots, were removed in large part from Kaya Mandi. This helped to make it, in general, much quieter in times of political discontent.<sup>278</sup>

As a result when the riots began, Kaya Mandi was fairly quiet. Individuals had left to go and listen to the popular speakers in Langa, such as Phillip Kgosana, leader of the PAC in the Western Cape, and to demonstrate their political voice there.<sup>279</sup> While this culminated in a march to Cape Town, unlike many other parts of South Africa, it ended without violence.<sup>280</sup> As a result, Kaya Mandi remained quiet for the first few days to the uneasy relief of the local authorities. The tension did not boil over into action until Monday 28 March 1960.<sup>281</sup>

There was to be a march to the centre of Stellenbosch where everyone would turn themselves in to be arrested for not having their pass books. The police, however, met the crowd about halfway into town at the Du Toit Station at which stage the confrontation began, with rocks being thrown, and resulted in the Kaya Mandi residents being driven back into the location.<sup>282</sup> Once there the pent-up anger and frustration were unleashed as individuals attempted to burn down the location offices. However, the fire department prevented the buildings from being completely destroyed and the following morning anything

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<sup>277</sup> Ibid.

<sup>278</sup> This concept is reflect in the 1980s when then Councillor Victor Myataza actually wanted to avoid building a high school fearing the activism associated with it. WC Archives PACG Vol. 1222 Ref. 17/2/2/5, Minutes of the Native Advisory Board, 4 June 1981.

<sup>279</sup> T.D.M. Mosomothane, Personal Interview, 13/7/2010.

<sup>280</sup> Lodge, *The Cape Town Troubles*, 226-230.

<sup>281</sup> "Gees van Heldhaftigheid was Vaardig oor die Eikestad: Naturelle vra Bewysboeke terug," Eikestadnuus, April 8, 1960.

<sup>282</sup> 'PoPo' Setona, Personal Interview, 20/8/2010;  
Monde Mayekiso, Personal Interview, 23/8/2010;  
T.D.M. Mosomothane, Personal Interview, 13/7/2010;  
Shumi Ndlebe, Personal Interview, 7/12/2010.

of value was removed from the offices. This included important files, furniture and equipment.<sup>283</sup>

Two days later greater destruction took place within the location. A wood storage building that was used to store bottles and utensils was burned down. A brick building that served as a workroom was destroyed along with all the tools of the workman, Mr. Ensick, and the location cleaner's materials. Additionally, three houses owned by constables and detectives employed by the South African Police were burned down with all of their belongings. Finally, the telephone booth was destroyed.<sup>284</sup> There was even an attempt to burn down the school. Anyone seen to be part of the government was a target. This meant local schoolteachers and police, even though they themselves were members of the Kaya Mandi community.<sup>285</sup>

The teachers helped to successfully defend the school from the protesters, trying to reason with them that by destroying the school they would only be hurting themselves. In fact T.D.M. Mosomothane who had been teaching in Kaya Mandi since 1955 was inside the school when they wanted to burn it down. He, along with other individuals, was forced to take refuge in the police station to avoid any violence.<sup>286</sup>

Simultaneously, there were mass calls for individuals to stay away from work and take part in the strikes.<sup>287</sup> Protesters clashed with police on the one road into and out of Kaya Mandi. As a result the municipality was forced to call in the army and surround Kaya Mandi. The tension lasted for three days as the police and army tried to contain the situation. They also tried to provide

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<sup>283</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 13, Ref. 2/21/7, Bantoesake: Lokasie- Kaya Mandi: Onluste, Report of Damages, 20 May 1960.

<sup>284</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 13 Ref. 2/21/7, Bantoesake: Lokasie- Kaya Mandi: Onluste; Report on Riots, 1960; WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 1 Ref. 2/2 II Special Meeting of the Bantoe Administration Committee, 14 June 1960.

<sup>285</sup> T.D.M. Mosomothane, Personal Interview, 13/7/2010.

<sup>286</sup> Ibid.

<sup>287</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 1 Ref. 2/2 II Special Meeting of the Bantoe Administration Committee, 14 June 1960.

security for individuals who wanted to work, but who feared retribution from the protesters.<sup>288</sup>

Interestingly, in Kaya Mandi the political motivators were not from the single quarters where traditionally trouble came from but the family quarters.<sup>289</sup> These were the individuals with a vested interest in Kaya Mandi and their own future there. They were also the ones who had suffered the most throughout the 1950s in the run-up to the riot. This does not mean that the single quarters residents did not partake. However, there was near universal support amongst the family quarters and therefore they were the predominant leaders, passing out pamphlets and getting people to stay home from work.<sup>290</sup>

At the end of the riots buildings had been destroyed but the lives of Kaya Mandi residents did not change for the better for many years. Soon after the riots the PAC and ANC were banned nationally, so too were their armed wings Poqo and Umkhonto We Sizwe.<sup>291</sup> In total about 60 people were arrested in association with the events that had transpired, many of them from the family quarters. However, it also became a time when the local Black police, already despised and targeted, used the opportunity to pick out some individuals whom they had grievances with in the past and identified them as playing a role in the fires. One such a person was a very pregnant, Shumi Ndlebe who actually gave birth while incarcerated. To this day she maintains that she did not partake in the violence and was singled out because of a previous feud.<sup>292</sup> This only served to promote feelings of distrust between the two groups.

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<sup>288</sup> Gees van Heldhaftigheid was Vaardig oor die Eikestad: Naturelle vra Bewysboeke terug," *Eikestadnuus*, 8 Apr. 1960.

<sup>289</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 1 Ref. 2/2 II Special Meeting of the Bantoe Administration Committee, 14 June 1960; WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 13 Ref. 2/21/7, Bantoesake: Lokasie- Kaya Mandi: Onluste; Report on Riots, 1960.

<sup>290</sup> Ibid.

<sup>291</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 13 Ref. 2/21/7 Proclamation Banning Organizations, 11 June 1963.

<sup>292</sup> Shumi Ndlebe, Personal Interview, 7/12/2010.

The 1960 riots had a decided impact. In particular it marked a turning point for Blacks in the struggle against an increasingly more repressive apartheid government. However, the riots were the only major incident in Kaya Mandi. This could be attributed to the two key factors mentioned earlier; small population size and the lack of a high school which resulted in general community disengagement in the long term.

Kaya Mandi was still a fairly small location at this time. In 1960 the census put the population of Kay Mandi at 1,770.<sup>293</sup> This was due to the tough quota system that had been in place since the mid-1950s and the relatively small piece of land the location covered.<sup>294</sup> Langa by comparison had over 25,000 people by this time.<sup>295</sup> This meant that the municipality was able to control Kaya Mandi fairly easily. There was also only one road into and out of Kaya Mandi. Even though people could obviously enter or exit around the outside, this single road meant that any large demonstrations could be well contained, given adequate opposing forces. This was clearly the case in 1960 with the combined army and local police efforts. As a result it had been very difficult to stage any major protests that would affect the town of Stellenbosch itself. Interestingly enough this is exactly one of the reasons why it was placed where it was. Close enough for people to work but just far enough away to not cause any problems.<sup>296</sup>

Since Kaya Mandi lacked a high school the most violently political segment of the population was removed, resulting in Kaya Mandi being quieter in times of discontent. In the 1980s the Native Advisory Board even tried to avoid building a high school because it feared the radical elements associated with it.<sup>297</sup> It was just harder for adults to take part in the same way; they had jobs,

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<sup>293</sup> WC Archives SGD Vol. 180. Ref. 1/4/136, Stellenbosch Municipality Annual Reports, 1960.

<sup>294</sup> This is approximately 36 hectares.

<sup>295</sup> Lodge, *The Cape Town Troubles*, 221.

<sup>296</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 4/1/120, Report on Inspection at Stellenbosch by C.W. Slarke, Inspector of Native Locations, 4 Aug. 1938.

<sup>297</sup> WC Archives PACG Vol. 1222 Ref. 17/2/2/5, Minutes of the Native Advisory Board, 4 June 1981.

other children to care for, and were simply older with more to lose. The individuals in the single quarters were involved but they were not the leaders, they were usually there for too short a period of time to gain any power as individuals. This is why the political leaders nearly all came from the family quarters.<sup>298</sup> This trend has continued right up to the modern day. The individuals who wield the political power today in Kaya Mandi nearly all come from an original Kaya Mandi family.<sup>299</sup>

After the riots, life in Kaya Mandi rapidly returned to normal. The municipality rebuilt all of the structures that were damaged and in 1963 even built a brand new administrative building that stands as a 'white elephant' in Kaya Mandi today.<sup>300</sup> The account of the riot in the *Eikestadnuus* was relatively void of detail and shows just how guarded and manipulated a situation could be.

Some work was done on the Mbekweni riots in Paarl that took place in 1960 and again in 1962. However, very little has been written about the riots in Kaya Mandi. On the one hand this is surprising given the proximity to Stellenbosch University, making Kaya Mandi an obvious source of academic research. On the other hand it is not surprising given the role of Stellenbosch University in the formation and justification of apartheid. The lack of coverage of the riots in Kaya Mandi caused those without direct knowledge of the situation to be completely unaware that there had, in fact, been a major event in Stellenbosch.

The riots only reinforced the notion of the municipality to remove the families of Kaya Mandi from its location and simply make it a place for single male

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<sup>298</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 1 Ref. 2/2 II Special Meeting of the Bantoe Administration Committee, 14 June 1960; WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 13 Ref. 2/21/7, Bantoesake: Lokasie- Kaya Mandi: Onluste; Report on Riots, 1960.

<sup>299</sup> Two of the most recent mayors of Stellenbosch, Victor Myataza and Patrick Swartz, both come from original families of Kaya Mandi.

<sup>300</sup> Andile "Mafisto" Mngwazi, Personal Interview, 12/1/2011. The building is relatively unused in Kaya Mandi today.

labourers.<sup>301</sup> This is illustrated by the fact that there was not a single family house built in more than two decades following the riots. Only single quarters were built primarily by private companies and forced removals continued to take place.<sup>302</sup>

Political activism in the 1970s in South Africa was famously characterized by the 1976 student revolt in Soweto and marked by the death of Hector Pieterse.<sup>303</sup> There was, however, no major event in Kaya Mandi. There were demonstrations but nothing of the magnitude of what happened elsewhere in the country or even compared to the 1960 pass law riots.<sup>304</sup> The disturbances in the latter part of the 1960s and 1970s could be characterized as general protests about freedom in Kaya Mandi. The most common form of protest was through non-payment of rent or services.<sup>305</sup> Not even when Mbekweni, the township outside of Paarl, rioted in 1962 did Kaya Mandi take part.<sup>306</sup> Some Kaya Mandi residents in Paarl at the time were even forced to flee.<sup>307</sup> Ironically it is not until the 1980s and the dismantling of apartheid that politics really began to heat up in Kaya Mandi.<sup>308</sup>

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<sup>301</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 1 Ref. 2/2 II Special Meeting of the Bantoe Administration Committee, 14 June 1960.

<sup>302</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 5 Ref. 2/5/1 Bantoesake Behuisings Hostelkamers vir Enkellopendes, 1972.

<sup>303</sup> Archie Mafeje, "Soweto and Its Aftermath." Review of African Political Economy No. 11 (Jan.- Apr., 1978), WEB JSTOR. 17-30.

<sup>304</sup> Songo Fipaza, Personal Interview, 01/10/2009;  
C.B. Ndlebe, Personal Interview, 3/12/2010;  
Andile "Mafisto" Mnqwazi, Personal Interview, 12/1/2011.

<sup>305</sup> Andile "Mafisto" Mnqwazi, Personal Interview, 12/1/2011;  
'PoPo' Setona, Personal Interview, 20/8/2010.

<sup>306</sup> Tom Lodge, "The Paarl Insurrection: A South African Uprising." African Studies Review. Vol. 25 No 4. (Dec., 1982) Web JSTOR 95-116.

<sup>307</sup> Shumi Ndlebe, Personal Interview, 7/12/2010.

<sup>308</sup> WC Archives PACG Vol. 168 Ref. Vol. 3/2/7/1/1, Report on meetings to protest Kayamandi Council, 13 Aug. 1983.



## Chapter 4: Kaya Mandi from 1980 to the Present

Since the 1980s Kaya Mandi has changed dramatically from what it used to be in the 1940s. Although apartheid would not end for nearly 15 years, two key developments occurred during the 1980s. First, Kaya Mandi saw more power going into the hands of local individuals, for the first time giving them direct influence over what happened locally. The most dramatic changes, however, came as a result of the repeal of influx control.

The first formal shift of power out of the control of the Stellenbosch Municipality and to Kaya Mandi was the creation of the Kaya Mandi Town Council (Kayad).<sup>309</sup> The council was created in 1983 and was essentially a name change from the Native Advisory Board. The key difference between the Native Advisory Board and the new council was that the council would have the direct ability to make changes in Kaya Mandi. In the past the Native Advisory Board was exactly what its name implied, advisory. The ultimate decisions regarding the location were left to the superintendent of the Stellenbosch Municipality and usually did not favour the residents of Kaya Mandi, especially in terms of housing.<sup>310</sup> As such the Kayad became a separate administrative entity that had the power to determine rents, build new homes, or construct whatever it deemed necessary for the location. In a sense this ended the era of Kaya Mandi being considered a location.<sup>311</sup> Under apartheid the term 'location' referred to an area under the control of the government or local municipality. Since that was no longer the case after 1983, Kaya Mandi began to take on the role of a township.

The term 'township' is in itself a rather complex term within the South African context. In the most contemporary sense a township is any sort of area that is characterized by informal housing, so-called 'shacks'. Up until the 1980s Kaya

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<sup>309</sup> Aida Kiangi, Habitat and Health in Kaya Mandi, M.A. Thesis (Stellenbosch: Stellenbosch University, 1998) 33.

<sup>310</sup> WC Archives PAA Vol. 0208 Ref. L94/a/46, Advisory Board Meeting 7 Apr. 1954.

<sup>311</sup> Kiangi, 33.

Mandi maintained a fairly ordered look characterized by it being referred to as a model location.<sup>312</sup> There were very few informal settlements, just hostels and family dwellings in various states. It is difficult to determine exactly when informal settlements began to take off. However, in 1982 a Stellenbosch Community Council meeting indicated that informal housing was being erected illegally. Subsequently, three possible solutions were given to the problem.<sup>313</sup>

The first solution was that additional homes should be built to alleviate the overcrowding that forced the construction of shacks in the first place. The second was that homes could be extended at the expense of the Stellenbosch Municipality. Finally, the homes could be extended at the cost of the individual. Some applications had already been placed by residents of Kaya Mandi for the construction of new homes and were being reviewed. An extension provided by the municipality was not considered a favourable option, because it would cause rental rates to more than double. As a result the municipality wanted to promote the construction of extensions at the cost of the individual.<sup>314</sup> This solution was, however, no solution at all because extensions to the existing homes could not possibly cope with the number of people needing housing and would only serve to delay the problem at best.<sup>315</sup>

When the Kayad was formed in 1983 it inherited a massive housing problem. This was a problem that was created in the late 1950s and 1960s. The hostels and homes in Kaya Mandi had been owned by the Stellenbosch Municipality and individuals paid rent to live in it, though many did not as a form of protest.<sup>316</sup> With the formation of the Kayad it took over the

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<sup>312</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 4/1/116, Interview with the Secretary of Native Affairs, 8 Nov. 1948.

<sup>313</sup> WC Archives PACG Vol. 534 Ref. 6/9/1/7, Stellenbosch Community Council General Meeting, Extensions to Family Homes, 1 July 1982.

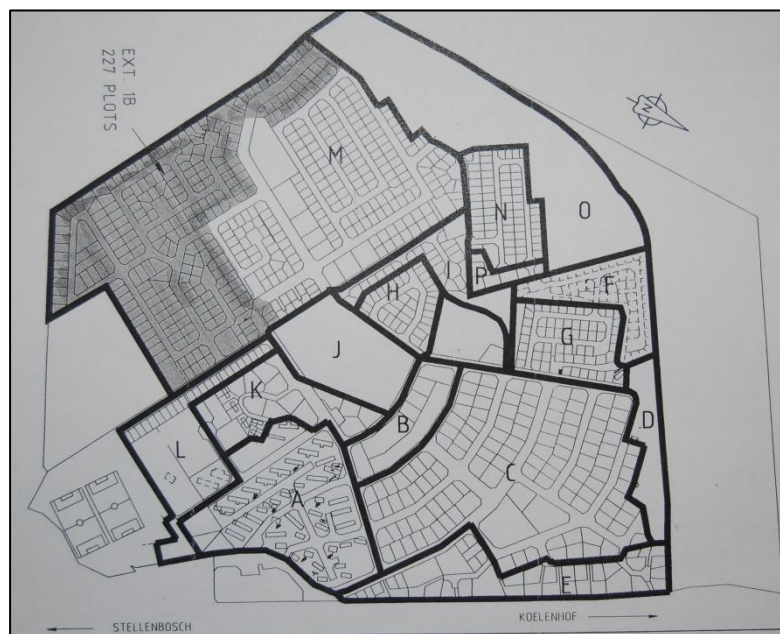
<sup>314</sup> Ibid.

<sup>315</sup> There was already such a backlog as the result of a failure to build any new homes since the mid-1950s that multiple generations had been living together for many years.

<sup>316</sup> STB Archives 14/2/2/1/27, Vol. IX, Report on Public Participation Process towards Residents Registration in Kayamandi, 1997.

administrative role of developing new housing projects. As a result, the newly formed Kayad immediately took action towards the construction of additional homes. These homes were to be constructed in the empty spaces that surrounded Kaya Mandi that had once served as buffer zones. The first of these areas developed near the original school and centred around Monde Crescent in Zones H and I, as seen below in Figure 5. At approximately the same time developments were initiated in the Koelenhof buffer strip, Zone E, and also in Zone M.

**Figure 5: Map of Kaya Mandi Zones in the mid-1990s<sup>317</sup>**



Development was complicated by accusations of bribery and corruption by councilmen. The first elections caused conflict within the community as well as the subsequent assignment of the houses that were constructed in the first phase of expansion but perceived to be assigned dubiously. Residents of

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<sup>317</sup>STB Archives 14/2/2/1/27, Vol. III, Kayamandi Municipality: Kayamandi Hostel Conversion, Hill Kaplan Scott, December 8, 1993. When looking at the map, Zone C makes up the original houses built in the 1940s and 1950s.

Kaya Mandi held meetings protesting the situation to no real avail.<sup>318</sup> It is clear however, that from the first elections in Kaya Mandi, in 1983, tensions flared and would continue to do so.<sup>319</sup> One of the principle issues had to deal with increases in rent and services.<sup>320</sup> However, there was also some frustration about the nature of representation in Kaya Mandi. The Town Council was comprised mainly of individuals who came from the family quarters. They, however, were in the minority and the hostel dwellers, the majority, lacked real influence due to the temporary nature of their presence.<sup>321</sup> The problem was that though these individuals had been temporary residents in the past they were about to become permanent residents.

During 1986 the first election of a mayor of Kaya Mandi, Victor Myataza took place.<sup>322</sup> Myataza grew up in Kaya Mandi and was from the family quarters.<sup>323</sup> He had served as a member of the Native Advisory Board and was subsequently always politically active.<sup>324</sup> This was a significant moment for Kaya Mandi, but less significant for subsequent development than the repeal of the influx control system that also happened in 1986.<sup>325</sup>

When the influx control was repealed Kaya Mandi had already been growing steadily. In 1984 the population was around 4,700 people and could possibly have been as high as 5,000.<sup>326</sup> This is close to double the population that

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<sup>318</sup> WC Archives PACG Vol. 168 Ref. 3/2/7/1/1, Letter from the Chief Director to the Regional Manager, 16 Nov. 1983; WC Archives PACG Vol. 175-177 Ref. 3/2/7/3 Minutes of the Kaya Mandi Town Council Meeting, 1990.

<sup>319</sup> WC Archives PACG Vol. 168 Ref. 3/2/7/1/1, Report on Bribery and Corruption of Community Council Election, 1983.

<sup>320</sup> Ibid.

<sup>321</sup> Cameron Mcako, Personal Interview, 14/1/2011.

<sup>322</sup> WC Archives, PACG Vol. 168 Ref. 3/2/7/1/1, Ontwerp van Heraldiese Voorstelling, 18 Aug. 1986.

<sup>323</sup> Drotske, 103; T.D.M. Mosomothane, Personal Interview, 13/7/2010.

<sup>324</sup> See for Instance: WC Archives PACG Vol. 1222 Ref. 17/2/2/5, Minutes of the Native Advisory Board, 4 June 1981.

<sup>325</sup> Bonner, Segal 134.

<sup>326</sup> WC Archives PACG 3/2/7/3 Town Committee Meeting, December 9, 1987.

lived in Kaya Mandi in the late 1970s.<sup>327</sup> The expansion was brought on principally by individuals moving into the single quarters. It was almost as if individuals had known that the influx control laws were going to be repealed and they began migrating and settling in Kaya Mandi permanently. These new inhabitants were generally from the same areas people had migrated from before, the former Transkei and Ciskei. This expansion was brought on mainly by women and children moving to join their relatives who had been living in the single quarters.<sup>328</sup> This exacerbated the housing problem drastically. The hostels which were already overcrowded by single males were now congested by entire families living in the same space.<sup>329</sup>

This was a situation that was not unique to Kaya Mandi. The Western Cape in general had been going through a similar shift. While the Stellenbosch Municipality had effectively decided to stop constructing family homes in the mid-1950s,<sup>330</sup> this was a policy adopted throughout the Cape Peninsula in the 1960s with an all out freeze in 1966.<sup>331</sup> The plans mainly included two key factors. Firstly, people were to be forcibly removed to maintain a strict quota system and to comply with the Group Areas Act. Secondly, preferential treatment was given to Coloured labour. The latter provided an artificial ceiling for Black workers because they were only supposed to fill unskilled or semi-skilled positions. Despite government efforts Black individuals managed to fight or ignore the restrictions.<sup>332</sup>

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<sup>327</sup> There does not appear to be any truly reliable sources on the population data from the 1970s. STB Archives 4/2/2/1/27 Vol. I, Ontwikkeling van Kaya Mandi: Dringende Antwoord van Burgemeester, 13 Aug. 1990. This gives a population of 2800 in 1970. This is probably a fair estimate for the entirety of the 1970s though it most likely appreciated in the late 1970s.

<sup>328</sup> Penderis, 35-36.

<sup>329</sup> Penderis 36; Kiangi, 40; Songo Fipaza, Personal Interview, 01/10/2009.

<sup>330</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 2 Ref. 2/2a, Olivier Commission Report, December 1955.

<sup>331</sup> Dudley Horner, Working Papers on Labour Preference, Influx Control and Squatters: Cape Town Entering the 1980s. (Cape Town: South Africa Labour and Development Research Unit, 1983) 6.

<sup>332</sup> *Ibid*, 33.

The government, in an attempt to curb the influx into the Western Cape, began amending existing legislation to make it more difficult. One example is an Amendment to the Black Labour Regulations in 1982 which excluded the Western Cape from the areas that people were allowed to transfer to automatically.<sup>333</sup> Subsequently, “transfer into the Western Cape is therefore now practically impossible.”<sup>334</sup> This too was most likely a result of the apprehension Whites had associated with a greatly increasing population of Blacks, just as had been the case in the early 1900s. In 1960 the population of Blacks in Cape Town was estimated at 75,200. While in 1980 the population was estimated to be 171,021. This increased the share of the total population of Blacks from 10% to 12%, though was probably an underestimate.<sup>335</sup> This makes it clear that the influx controls enacted in the 1950s or 1960s had failed to truly stem or reverse the trend.

Interestingly, despite this increased legislation it was just a few short years later, in 1986, when the influx control system was repealed making any other attempt at restriction meaningless. This allowed for Blacks to pick where they wanted to live for the first time.<sup>336</sup> As a result the Black populations in the Western Cape that had experienced relatively slow growth experienced an extreme population boom. This was not just limited to the Western Cape. In and around Johannesburg, and specifically Soweto, a massive explosion of squatter settlements emerged.<sup>337</sup> This marked another mass movement of people from rural to urban settings.

As a result of this incredible influx and the subsequent overcrowding, the construction of informal settlements began to accelerate in Kaya Mandi as well. This resulted in the development of informal housing generally around the hostel quarters and gave rise to the Mpelazwe section of Kaya Mandi.

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<sup>333</sup> Ibid, 33.

<sup>334</sup> Ibid, 33.

<sup>335</sup> Ibid, 6.

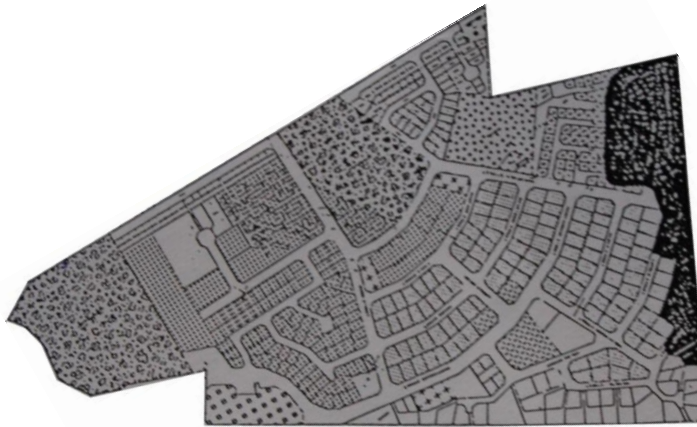
<sup>336</sup> Bonner, Segal 134.

<sup>337</sup> Ibid, 134-136.



Mpelazwe was located on the empty land alongside the original hostels in Zone D from Figure 5. This is indicated in black on Figure 6 below.

**Figure 6: Map of Kaya Mandi around 1990**<sup>338</sup>



The black shaded area marks informal settlements by 1990. Much of this area has now been developed and comprises formal housing. However, it marked the first significant construction of an informal settlement and helped to foster the incredible population boom that has dominated Kaya Mandi ever since. From then on informal housing was constructed in great numbers amongst the hostels of Zones A, B, J, and K as seen on Figure 5.<sup>339</sup>

It was during this phase of Kaya Mandi that real segmentation between the residents began to occur. On the one hand there were the individuals in the family quarters. They were the people with the traditional political voice in Kaya Mandi. They could generally be considered to be more educated, middle class professionals and, in most cases, had lived in Kaya Mandi for generations.<sup>340</sup> On the other hand there were individuals who were new to Kaya Mandi, generally less educated, lower class labourers who lacked a political voice.<sup>341</sup>

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<sup>338</sup> STB Archives 4/2/2/1/27 Vol. I, Internal Land Use Map, Macro Plan, 1990.

<sup>339</sup> STB Archives 14/2/2/1/27, Vol. III, Kayamandi Municipality: Kayamandi Hostel Conversion, Hill Kaplan Scott, 8 Dec. 1993.

<sup>340</sup> Drotske, 123-128; C.B. Ndlebe, Personal Interview, 3/12/2010.

<sup>341</sup> Cameron Mcako, Personal Interview, 14/1/2011.



By 1987 the population was well above 10,000 individuals. That meant the population had again effectively doubled in just three years.<sup>342</sup> In a location where there was already inadequate housing the problem had become dire. Subsequently the Kaya Mandi Town Council began to seek greater housing developments. There was still some useable land in Kaya Mandi in the form of buffer zones that could be developed. However, space was running out.<sup>343</sup> The problem was that people were moving in faster than homes could be constructed and allocated.

The increasing population put a strain on all the resources of Kaya Mandi. One example of this would be the number of police working in the location. There were eight constables and one sergeant in Kaya Mandi in 1984 when the population was approximately 5,000. In 1987, after the population had doubled, the number of police had not been increased making it increasingly more difficult to maintain law and order.<sup>344</sup>

Additionally, in 1982 it was evident that an addition to the school was necessary.<sup>345</sup> However, the construction and development was not completed until the mid-1980s. This was a problem because of the speed at which the population was growing. The school had served a community of approximately 2,500 people in the 1970s with most of them single male labourers without children. It then had to serve approximately double that number in 1984 or quadruple in 1987.<sup>346</sup> This problem was also exacerbated by the fact that people moving into Kaya Mandi were often women and

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<sup>342</sup> This census did not include children under the age of 15, so the numbers could be even higher. WC Archives PACG Vol. 175-177 Ref. 3/2/7/3, Town Committee Meeting, 9 Dec. 1987.

<sup>343</sup> Monde Mayekiso, Personal Interview, 23/8/2010.

<sup>344</sup> WC Archives PACG Vol. 175-177 Ref. 3/2/7/3, Town Committee Meeting, 9 Dec. 1987.

<sup>345</sup> WC Archives PACG Vol. 515 Ref. 6/6/1/7/1, Ref. 6/6/1/7/1 Letter from the Chief Director to the Regional Director of Education and Training, November 25, 1982.

<sup>346</sup> WC Archives PACG Vol. 175-177 Ref. 3/2/7/3, Town Committee Meeting, 9 Dec. 1987.

children.<sup>347</sup> As a result, teaching conditions worsened in the form of very high student to teacher ratios. It would not be until the mid 1990s that a new school was constructed.<sup>348</sup>

Despite relinquishing control of Kaya Mandi in 1983 the Stellenbosch Municipality was not unaware of the increasingly dire situation. Unfortunately, they were often working with inaccurate data. For instance, in response to an article in the *Eikestadnuus* in 1990, which put the population of Kaya Mandi at 15,000, the municipality and the Mayor of Stellenbosch, Dr. D.E.W. Schumann, wrote a report to refute the article that is not entirely accurate. In his response he tried to illustrate the natural growth of Kaya Mandi from 1951 to 1988 with the following chart,<sup>349</sup> followed by the chart from the 2011 Integrated Development Plan (IDP) for the purpose of comparison.

**Table 8: Population of Kaya Mandi According to the Municipality of Stellenbosch in 1990<sup>350</sup>**

	1951	1960	1970	1980	1988
<b>Population</b>	33	23	2800	3181	3900

**Table 9: Population of Stellenbosch from the 2011 IDP<sup>351</sup>**

	1970	1980	1991	1996	2001	2007
<b>Blacks</b>	293	6,140	14,754	17,514	24,145	110,168
<b>Coloureds</b>	43,170	48,180	73,096	65,967	67,528	37,272
<b>Whites</b>	19,629	23,900	34,081	28,655	25,797	52,153
<b>Total</b>	63,157	78,260	122,117	112,434	111,705	200,527

<sup>347</sup> Penderis, 36.

<sup>348</sup> C.B. Ndlebe, Personal Interview, 3/12/2010.

<sup>349</sup> STB Archives 4/2/2/1/27 Vol. I, Ontwikkeling van Kaya Mandi: Dringende Antwoord van Burgemeester, 13 Aug. 1990.

<sup>350</sup> Ibid.

<sup>351</sup> Stellenbosch Municipality, 2011 IDP.

How the data in Table 8 above was determined is not exactly clear. In the response it was stated that it had come from census data, but that could not possibly have been the case. The population statistics shown previously largely came from the municipality itself and paint an entirely different picture. For instance the quota system of 1955 accounted for 1,700 individuals plus an additional 250 seasonal workers, making it impossible that there could be a population of just 23 in 1960.<sup>352</sup> However, it does probably indicate a relatively accurate number of 2,800 for 1970 compared to the 293 of the 2011 IDP report.

The census of Kaya Mandi carried out by the municipality in 1990 put the population at 6,500.<sup>353</sup> This was most likely a significant underestimate. It was underestimations like these that had plagued the town planning in the two following decades. This is also illustrated by the IDP statistics in 2011. Although the numbers have been revised, in most cases upwards, the data from 1970 is inconsistent. It is also important to acknowledge that the data is for Stellenbosch Municipality as a whole. That means that those classified as Blacks did not consist solely of Black individuals living in Kaya Mandi, though that is where the vast majority of Blacks lived and still live.<sup>354</sup> However, the IDP is not concerned with the past but rather with the immediate future, although inaccuracies in population statistics may result in less accurate forecasts.

Regardless of what the actual population numbers were, one thing was clear, there were many people living in substandard conditions. As a result the Stellenbosch Municipality in conjunction with the Kaya Mandi Town Council began purchasing land around Kaya Mandi for expansion in the 1990s. One of these acquisitions in 1991 was from Stevie Smit who owned the Watergang

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<sup>352</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 2 Ref. 2/2a, Olivier Commission Report, December 1955.

<sup>353</sup> STB Archives 4/2/2/1/27 Vol. I, Ontwikkeling van Kaya Mandi: Dringende Antwoord van Burgemeester, 13 Aug. 1990.

<sup>354</sup> Stellenbosch Municipality, 2011 IDP.

and Costa Luigi Farms.<sup>355</sup> The area that was developed is in the outlined area along Zones, D, F, and O in Figure 4 and is still called Costa Land today.<sup>356</sup> This development is full of Reconstruction and Development Program (RDP) houses and while the construction planning process was initiated in the early 1990s it was not until 1997 that construction actually began.<sup>357</sup> This kind of delay was problematic because by the time construction actually started the assumptions based on the population were already outdated.

Additional land was also purchased or rezoned for the development of future housing units and school sites. This includes the area where Ikhaya Primary School now is.<sup>358</sup> Prior to the construction of the new primary school both the high school and primary school were housed in the same building. With the construction of the new primary school building it allowed for the high school to have its own building. This provided a more complete educational experience in Kaya Mandi. Where in the past students had to leave Kaya Mandi to attend high school, it was now possible to do so locally.<sup>359</sup>

All of these extensions and expansions are indicated on the map of the Kaya Mandi Master Plan, in figure 7 on the following page.<sup>360</sup> There have been two important themes within the Master Plan, expansion and redevelopment. Expansion took place by purchasing new land to build and redevelopment by upgrading existing structures, usually hostels.<sup>361</sup> There was also a desire to develop a central business district (CBD) for Kaya Mandi which had never had a formalized business centre.

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<sup>355</sup> "Kaya Mandi kry 20 ha van dorp: Vir oprigting van 420 huise," *Die Burger*, 29 Aug. 1991.

<sup>356</sup> Monde Mayekiso, Personal Interview, 23/8/2010

<sup>357</sup> "350 Houses to be built in Kaya Mandi," *Eikestadnuus*, 7 Mar. 1997.

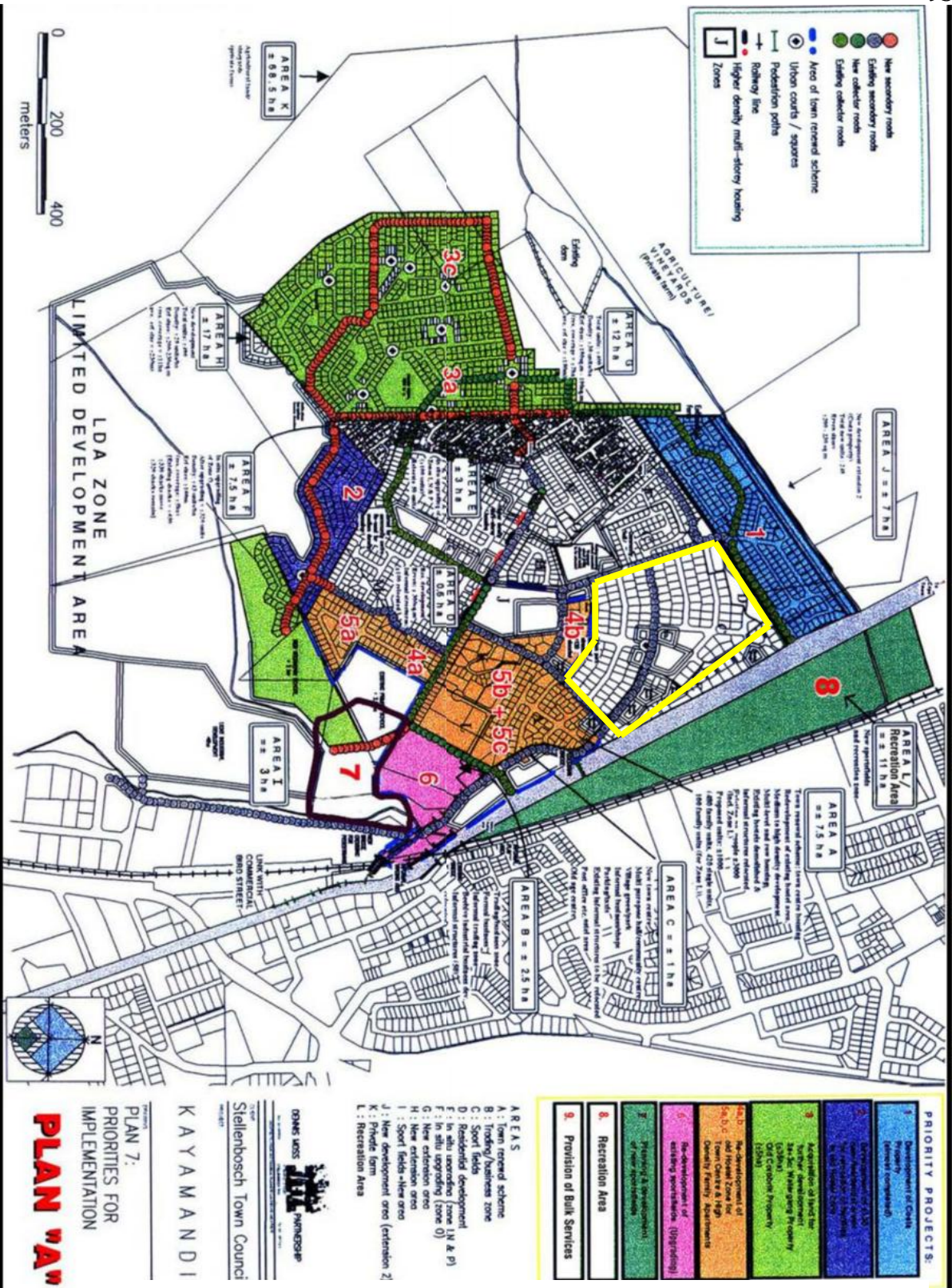
<sup>358</sup> Monde Mayekiso, Personal Interview, 23/8/2010

<sup>359</sup> C.B. Ndlebe, Personal Interview, 3/12/2010.

<sup>360</sup> "Kaya Mandi Master Plan," *Dennis Moss Partnership*, WEB. 8 Apr. 2010.  
<http://www.stellenbosch.gov.za/jsp/util/document.jsp?id=1457>.

<sup>361</sup> STB Archives 4/2/2/1/27 throughout the different volumes you see a focus on the Master Plans and their goals; "350 Houses to be built in Kaya Mandi," *EikestadNuus*, 7 Mar. 1997.





The area outlined in yellow is the extent of the construction of Kaya Mandi by the 1950s. Everything in white marks the developments that took place by the mid 1990s. Then development proceeded in different stages. Stage 1 is marked by the development of Costa Land, Stage 2 is the development of Snake Valley, Stage 3 is the Watergang development, Stages 4 and 5 mark the redevelopment of the hostels built in the 1960s and 1970s into a town centre. Stage 6 is a redevelopment of the sports fields. Stage 7 is the planning and new development of additional sports fields. Stage 8 is the development of a recreation area. Finally, Stage 9 makes provisions for bulk

The national elections in 1994 marked the first popular democratic elections in South Africa. The elections brought about a significant change in the lives of all South Africans, both practically and ideologically. In Kaya Mandi the elections were met with much jubilation,<sup>362</sup> but the problems of housing were not going to be solved overnight. Since 1994 Kaya Mandi has entered into another chapter of governance when it was formally incorporated within the Stellenbosch Municipal Area.<sup>363</sup> This meant that it was no longer an isolated administrative area but actually a part of Stellenbosch itself. Subsequently a Local Transitional Council was established to take over the day to day services of Kaya Mandi and the Department of Health took over social services such as refuse removal, health care facilities and public sanitation.<sup>364</sup>

This new incorporation also meant that the people of Kaya Mandi could, for the first time, vote for the mayor of Stellenbosch. As illustrated by the results in the general elections of 1994; the National Party received about 60% of the vote in Stellenbosch and the ANC received 27%.<sup>365</sup> This meant that politically Kaya Mandi was still relatively isolated from Stellenbosch to a large extent.

Despite the national political changes and construction of some homes, progress was slow. Community members, angry at community leaders, even set several homes alight in 1994.<sup>366</sup> The frustration was the result of the fact that despite political change very little actual change was occurring for residents, especially for those amongst the poorest sections of the community. This was a feeling that began during the 1980s with the increased amount of squatting. During the 1990s more homes were being built with the promise that those houses would go to hostel dwellers. However, many did

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<sup>362</sup> Monde Mayekiso, Personal Interview, 23/8/2010.

<sup>363</sup> Kiangi, 33.

<sup>364</sup> Ibid.

<sup>365</sup> "Republic of South Africa 1994 General Election," Election Resources, WEB. 21 Apr. 2011. <http://electionresources.org/za/1994/provinces/WC.html>.

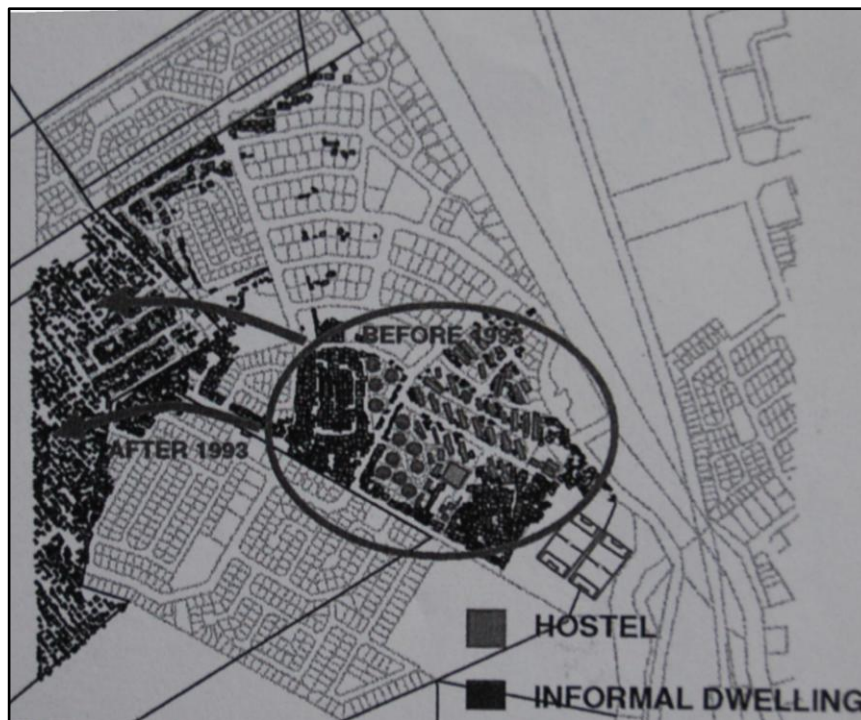
<sup>366</sup> C.B. Ndlebe, Personal Interview, 3/12/2010.



not and anger and frustration emerged.<sup>367</sup> As a result the first mayors of Kaya Mandi, Myataza and Mayekiso, are often remembered as being ineffective.<sup>368</sup> While there was some truth in this it would be unfair to judge them too harshly given the circumstances they were placed in.

The result of the anger and frustration about housing led to some violence and an increased amount of squatting. Prior to the 1990s most of the squatting was congregated around the hostels. This however soon began to spread out even further as more and more people arrived in Kaya Mandi. This is illustrated in Figure 8.

**Figure 8: Map of Informal Settlements Before and After 1993<sup>369</sup>**



<sup>367</sup> Mtshelwana Mbuyiseli, Personal Interview, 15/11/2010. Mbuyiseli was born in the Eastern Cape in 1961 before moving to Kaya Mandi in 1988. He has been an active member within the ANC serving on various committees and groups locally.

<sup>368</sup> Songo Fipaza, Personal Interview, 01/10/2009;  
'PoPo' Setona, Personal Interview, 20/8/2010;  
Andile "Mafisto" Mnqwazi, Personal Interview, 12/1/2011.

<sup>369</sup> STB Archives 4/2/2/1/27 Vol. VIII, Kayamandi Town Centre and Urban Renewal Progress Report meeting, 10 June 1997.



Due to the fact that the local government was developing the buffer zones around Kaya Mandi, shacks were initially built on the available land within the location itself. That meant that shacks were built in a variety of places. One area was adjacent to family homes, often for the adult sons or daughters of the homeowner, lacking the money necessary for any accommodation of their own. Another area was on the old rugby and soccer fields.<sup>370</sup> Today these areas are completely unrecognizable as former sports fields and contributed to the degradation of sports in Kaya Mandi. Finally, once the boundaries of Kaya Mandi could no longer contain the swelling numbers people began squatting on the surrounding land.<sup>371</sup>

The attraction to Stellenbosch has largely been the result of three things. Firstly, the initial wave of individuals throughout the 1980s came in order to join family members already here. Following this, employment and safety had been the principal attraction to Kaya Mandi as Kaya Mandi was seen to be one of the safest townships in the area with a high possibility of employment.<sup>372</sup> Interestingly, it was employment that has brought people to Stellenbosch since the early 1900s.<sup>373</sup>

The additional squatting that moved beyond the designated area of Kaya Mandi created tension between the local farmers and the people residing in Kaya Mandi. The area around Kaya Mandi is highly fertile and productive agricultural land. As a result farmers, especially of the Watergang Farm, were reluctant to sell large portions of their land and objected to municipal plans of the expansion of Kaya Mandi.<sup>374</sup>

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<sup>370</sup> Monde Mayekiso, Personal Interview, 23/8/2010.

<sup>371</sup> Monde Mayekiso, Personal Interview, 23/8/2010;  
Mtshelwana Mbuyiseli, Personal Interview, 15/11/2010.

<sup>372</sup> Malwande Ntsodo, Personal Interview, 20/5/2010. Ntsodo was born in the Eastern Cape in 1989 before moving to Kaya Mandi in 1990 to live with his aunt and uncle. He is currently enrolled in a public relations certification program and active member of a local drama club.

<sup>373</sup> Songo Fipaza, Personal Interview, 01/10/2009.

<sup>374</sup> STB Archives 182/1s, Agreement between Stellenbosch Municipality and Watergang Farm, 2005.

This was consistent with the opinion of surrounding farmers during the 1920s when a petition was sent around requesting that the Du Toit development be halted.<sup>375</sup> This was to no avail then nor has it been now. The first acquisition of land that was part of the Watergang Farm occurred in 1991. However, by 2002 little to no progress had been made in purchasing additional land.<sup>376</sup> It was not until 2005, that additional land was finally purchased.<sup>377</sup> This demonstrates that for local farmers, despite their reluctance to sell, it was just a matter of time. This was, in part, because of the issues of theft and pollution caused by residents living along the borders of Kaya Mandi.<sup>378</sup> Additionally, once a community of squatters settle on the actual land itself, it is difficult to remove those individuals making squatter settlements an extremely strong political tool.

The housing issues of the 1990s gave Kaya Mandi an extraordinarily tense environment.<sup>379</sup> Political tension continued to rise between the old residents of Kaya Mandi and its newer residents. The tension was caused by the influx, but it was also the result of FW De Klerk announcing that Black political parties were unbanned, including the ANC and PAC.<sup>380</sup> With the political parties free to operate they began to try to position themselves for the eventual popular elections. Interestingly, despite many of the political leaders having been previously associated with the PAC in Kaya Mandi, many turned to the ANC as a political strategy.<sup>381</sup>

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<sup>375</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol. 4/1/120, Removal of Native Location Petition, 22 May 1923.

<sup>376</sup> "Minutes of the Corporate Service Committee," Stellenbosch Municipality, 3 Dec. 2002. WEB. 23 Apr. 2010. <http://www.stellenbosch.org/stellenbosch/navpages/publicpages/minutes/MINUTES%202002-03-12.doc>.

<sup>377</sup> STB Archives 182/1s, Agreement between Stellenbosch Municipality and Watergang Farm, 2005.

<sup>378</sup> Ibid.

<sup>379</sup> Nantoe Ginsi Gazi, Personal Interview, 15/11/2010. Gazi was born in 1966 in the Eastern Cape before moving to Kaya Mandi in 1986. He is an active local politician.

<sup>380</sup> Bonner, Segal, 142-143.

<sup>381</sup> 'PoPo' Setona, Personal Interview, 20/8/2010.

The new residents of Kaya Mandi consisted almost entirely of individuals who had moved from the Eastern Cape. These were individuals who often had familial ties to Kaya Mandi and so could have a place to stay while they searched for new accommodation.<sup>382</sup> With the great increase of individuals and also the desire of people in the single quarters to have their own homes there was great pressure on development. The housing development, however, could not hope to match the demand.

Although development had taken place in the late 1980s and early 1990s it lacked a long term approach. This was due to the fact that prior to 1994 the municipality of Stellenbosch was reluctant to provide any sort of long term strategy or assistance with regards to Kaya Mandi because the political future was so uncertain.<sup>383</sup> This uncertainty was especially reinforced given the problems with the Kaya Mandi Town Council,<sup>384</sup> the major demonstrations that resulted in trucks being petrol-bombed, the library being vandalized and school supplies being destroyed.<sup>385</sup>

The uncertainty these events created prevented some of those initial housing programs from progressing faster than they eventually did. One of the problems with the lack of progress was the perception that those in power were using their power only to enrich themselves through nepotism, fraud, and other abuses. The result was a feeling of disenfranchisement that allowed the United Democratic Movement to form, splintering from the ANC, and to gain support in Kaya Mandi in the late 1990s.<sup>386</sup>

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<sup>382</sup> Cameron Mcako, Personal Interview, 14/1/2011;  
Nantoe Ginsi Gazi, Personal Interview, 15/11/2010;  
Mtshelwana Mbuyiseli, Personal Interview, 15/11/2010.

<sup>383</sup> STB Archives 4/2/2/1/27 Vol. IX, Report on the Public Participation: Process Towards Resident Registration in Kayamandi, September 1997.

<sup>384</sup> "Councilors Refuse to Resign" *Eikestadnuus*, 2 July 1993.

<sup>385</sup> "Truck Set Alight After Petrol-Bomb Attack" *Eikestadnuus*, 28 May 1993;  
"Kaya Mandi Library – A Sad Story" *Eikestadnuus*, 3 December 1993.

<sup>386</sup> Cameron Mcako, Personal Interview, 14/1/2011;  
Nantoe Ginsi Gazi, Personal Interview, 15/11/2010.

The UDM in Kaya Mandi was largely made up of individuals who had arrived in Kaya Mandi after the 1980s and sought to have their voice heard politically. When this split took place in the late 1990s political tension in Kaya Mandi increased. Some minor ANC councillors' homes were burned and there was a threat of real violence.<sup>387</sup> Fortunately the two sides met and reached a compromise that stopped any further violence.<sup>388</sup> This was one of the clearest manifestations of tension between the 'new' and 'old' members of Kaya Mandi.

Many of the old residents looked at the newcomers with disdain. They saw that the squatting had turned Kaya Mandi from one of the cleanest locations in South Africa to a typical township.<sup>389</sup> This was because the shacks, while often furnished better than one might suspect, lacked most or all of the basic necessities like running water. These shacks were not connected to the sewage system of the area and due to their densely packed nature it was very difficult for garbage to be collected.<sup>390</sup> This degradation emotionally hurt the older members of the community who took great pride in their community.<sup>391</sup>

**Table 10: Types of Residential Housing in Kaya Mandi in 1997<sup>392</sup>**

<b>Residential Types</b>	<b>Units</b>	<b>Population</b>	<b>% of total population</b>	<b>Area occupied (ha)</b>
<b>Formal Housing</b>	300	1,000	10	15.0
<b>Hostels</b>	400	1,300	13	7.0
<b>Informal Housing</b>	2,300	7,700	77	16.5
<b>Total</b>	3,000	10,000	100	38.5

<sup>387</sup>'PoPo' Setona, Personal Interview, 20/8/2010;

C.B. Ndlebe, Personal Interview,

<sup>388</sup> C.B. Ndlebe, Personal Interview, 3/12/2010.

<sup>389</sup> Andile "Mafisto" Mnqwazi, Personal Interview, 12/1/2011;

T.D.M. Mosomothane, Personal Interview, 13/7/2010.

<sup>390</sup> Kiangi, 34-46.

<sup>391</sup> T.D.M. Mosomothane, Personal Interview, 13/7/2010.

<sup>392</sup> Kiangi, 3.

The statistics in Table 10 above represent a general assessment at best because the population figures are definitely too low. However, the ratios are probably fairly accurate and provide an interesting example of the demographic shift that had taken place in Kaya Mandi over the previous 15+ years. Looking back at the early 1950s about 50% of the structures were family homes,<sup>393</sup> compared to just 10% in the 1997 statistics. The reason for this sharp decline was the massive influx of informal housing. The 1980s saw the end of hostel construction within Kaya Mandi and the increase of formal homes. Some of the old hostels were also redesigned into family homes. This caused the percentages to even out.<sup>394</sup> It is the informal housing that clearly dominates the statistics. It also helps to illustrate how those in the formal housing felt about the drastic changes to their community.

This sense of community was something that had been a vibrant aspect of Kaya Mandi ever since its inception, especially amongst the family quarters. However, with the large influx of individuals and insufficient social structures to deal with the population increase, Kaya Mandi lost some of this sense of community,<sup>395</sup> principally manifesting in increased levels of crime.

Increased levels of crime were something that punctuated in the 1990s across South Africa. Due to the political upheaval in the 1980s, marked by two states of emergency, the country's economic growth was disrupted and slowed down. This was felt especially hard in and around major urban centres. Soweto was a prime example, where around 70% of individuals under the age of 35 were unemployed in 1990. With widespread unemployment many individuals turned to crime.<sup>396</sup>

Kaya Mandi had traditionally been one of the safest places to live. Individuals speak of being able to sleep outside in the summer without any fear. Now no

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<sup>393</sup> Drotske, 33.

<sup>394</sup> Kiangi, 3.

<sup>395</sup> Andile "Mafisto" Mngwazi, Personal Interview, 12/1/2011.

<sup>396</sup> Bonner, Segal, 137.

one would sleep outside.<sup>397</sup> Crime however, does not exclusively come from the residents of Kaya Mandi themselves who are in the vast majority a law-abiding group of individuals. As long time Detective Mnqwazi indicated, at times people coming from surrounding areas such as, Khayelitsha and Kraaifontein, cause the problems.<sup>398</sup> The lost sense of community in Kaya Mandi does not help the situation. Within the informal housing and especially along the newest sections, anonymity exists to a large extent and it is within this anonymity that the criminal elements have developed.<sup>399</sup> Fortunately for Kaya Mandi there were and still are no major gangs. There are small groups of individuals who may conduct crime but they are not formalized in structure the way other gangs are. These individuals are more small time crooks who are usually young male adults with a poor education and little job prospects or individuals seeking money for drugs.<sup>400</sup>

It is hard to pinpoint exactly when drugs really began to enter the social life of Kaya Mandi. There has always been consumption of alcohol and a long history of dagga (marijuana<sup>401</sup>), however, today, in addition to the alcohol consumption, tik (methamphetamine) is being used extensively.<sup>402</sup> It is for this reason that the 'Corridor' has become one of the most dangerous places of Kaya Mandi.<sup>403</sup> 'Corridor' is an area that follows the old route into Kaya Mandi and today consists of the most commonly used walking path into and out of Kaya Mandi, and is also the site of the new Kayamandi Mall.

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<sup>397</sup> Songo Fipaza, Personal Interview, 01/10/2009.

<sup>398</sup> Andile "Mafisto" Mnqwazi, Personal Interview, 12/1/2011.

<sup>399</sup> Andile "Mafisto" Mnqwazi, Personal Interview, 12/1/2011;  
Monde Mayekiso, Personal Interview, 23/8/2010.

<sup>400</sup> Andile "Mafisto" Mnqwazi, Personal Interview, 12/1/2011.

<sup>401</sup> WC Archives 3/STB Vol. Vol. 3 Ref. 2/3/1, Minutes of the Conference of the Western Cape Committee for Local Natives Administration, 22 Nov. 1956.

<sup>402</sup> Andile "Mafisto" Mnqwazi, Personal Interview, 12/1/2011;  
Malwande Ntsodo, Personal Interview, 20/5/2010.

<sup>403</sup> Andile "Mafisto" Mnqwazi, Personal Interview, 12/1/2011;  
Fumanekile Tshengele, Personal Interview, 20/5/2010. Tshengele was born in 1990 in Gugulethu before moving to Khayelitsha and ultimately to Kaya Mandi in 2007. He is a resident of the 'Corridor' section of Kaya Mandi and active member of a local drama group.

'Corridor' is dangerous for very simple practical reasons. Firstly, it is the most direct path that nearly everyone who is walking into or out of Kaya Mandi must take. As a result, individuals looking to commit crime know that people will be walking through that area with money, either going to buy something in town, or having been paid and on their way home from work. Secondly, it is also the location to buy drugs not just for Kaya Mandi residents, but also for some Stellenbosch residents.<sup>404</sup> It is because of this crime and danger of walking through that area in the early mornings or evenings that some residents who can afford it will take a taxi from one side of Kaya Mandi to the other.<sup>405</sup>

The reasons for the crime are complex in nature. There are the obvious motivations of drugs or money but those are symptomatic reasons of a greater cause. Most individuals give lack of jobs as the biggest motivating factor.<sup>406</sup> This, however, is a problem much greater than Kaya Mandi. Kaya Mandi had extremely high employment levels during the 1940s and right through to the 1970s. Now a high unemployment rate officially at 22.3% prevails, though some would say it is much higher.<sup>407</sup> It is, however, still seen as an attractive location because of its access to jobs.<sup>408</sup> The reason for the lack of employment is also complex and cannot simply be limited to just one or two factors. However, low levels of education certainly play a decided role, something a struggling school system is trying to overcome.

One reason for the struggle in education is that the ratio of students to teachers is still high. While it was unbearably high in the late 1980s and early 1990s, it is improving. This is due to an increased number of available teachers and also the development of three schools since 1995. This includes

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<sup>404</sup> Ibid.

<sup>405</sup> Malwande Ntsodo, Personal Interview, 20/5/2010;  
Thandiswa Mbobo, Personal Interview, 23/5/2010. Mbobo was born in 1982 in the Eastern Cape before moving to Kaya Mandi in 1997. She is a mother and active church member.

<sup>406</sup> 'PoPo' Setona, Personal Interview, 20/8/2010;  
Malwande Ntsodo Personal Interview, 20/5/2010;  
Andile "Mafisto" Mnqwazi, Personal Interview, 12/1/2011.

<sup>407</sup> Stellenbosch Municipality, 2011 IDP.

<sup>408</sup> Fumanekile Tshengele, Personal Interview, 20/5/2010.



two primary schools and one high school.<sup>409</sup> The schools face a tough task, in part because of lack of parental support.

Only about thirty percent of the parents whose children go to Makupula High School could be considered active members of the school community, attending school meetings and functions. This is not necessarily the fault of the remaining seventy percent who may be working or busy in justifiable ways. It is, however, an indicator of lack of support and a major problem in the eyes of Principal Ndlebe. For instance, although Makupula High School is a non-fees school, it asks that the students' families contribute R100 per annum. That is just over R8 a month. While Kaya Mandi residents are certainly economically disadvantaged, according to the principal, it certainly is unlikely that residents cannot find R8, citing that most spend more than that on airtime each month. Yet, only about thirty percent of families contribute. The principal is of the opinion that families do not pay because of a combination of both economical and psychological difficulties.<sup>410</sup>

Families who do not pay because of economic reasons is self explanatory. However, other families maintain that since it is a non-fees school they should not have to pay.<sup>411</sup> This is probably the most damaging and dangerous concept because it illustrates the fact that some parents do not invest in their children's education. If the parents do not want to give money to the school to help maintain the facilities that their children use then they are also going to be less likely to assist their children with things such as homework.<sup>412</sup> Many parents living in Kaya Mandi grew up largely outside the formalized structure of education. To them homework itself is a foreign concept. So for a child whose classroom is overcrowded, lacks all of the necessary facilities and gets little to no support at home, there is little hope for success.<sup>413</sup>

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<sup>409</sup> C.B. Ndlebe, Personal Interview, 3/12/2010.

<sup>410</sup> Ibid.

<sup>411</sup> Ibid.

<sup>412</sup> Ibid.

<sup>413</sup> Ibid.

A testament to the status of the Kaya Mandi education system is that many of the teachers and other individuals, who have the money, send their children to other schools. Those that can afford it send their children to schools in Cloetesville, Stellenbosch, Bellville, or Lynedoch rather than to Kaya Mandi.<sup>414</sup> This breakdown also usually happens amongst the common thread of 'new' vs. 'old'. 'New' Kaya Mandi residents tend to be the ones who are less educated, who have just moved from the Eastern Cape, live in informal houses and are subsequently less economically mobile, forcing their children to attend the local schools.<sup>415</sup>

The way in which individuals are integrated into the Kaya Mandi community has also changed since the 1980s and 1990s. The 1980s and 1990s were characterized by increased population in the hostels and subsequent construction of informal housing as a way of alleviating the congestion.<sup>416</sup> As a result only a small percentage of current hostel dwellers represent individuals who were also present in Kaya Mandi in the 1980s. Today hostels are generally considered one of the lowest forms of housing in Kaya Mandi. As a result, many individuals who live there are new to Kaya Mandi, unfamiliar with where exactly to live or lacking a familial base to assist them. Additionally, some individuals in the hostels are young adults looking to find their own place to live.<sup>417</sup>

The biggest and newest area of informal housing is called Nkanini or 'Force'. It is a large swath of shacks that forms its own community within a community. It is generally considered one of the more dangerous sections of Kaya Mandi<sup>418</sup> and is an important aspect of the continued debate about housing and expansion.<sup>419</sup> 'Nkanini is located on the outskirts of the more formalized

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<sup>414</sup> Ibid.

<sup>415</sup> Ibid.

<sup>416</sup> T.D.M. Mosomothane, Personal Interview, 13/7/2010.

<sup>417</sup> Cameron Mcako, Personal Interview, 14/1/2011;  
Malwande Ntsodo, Personal Interview, 20/5/2010.

<sup>418</sup> Andile "Mafisto" Mngwazi, Personal Interview, 12/1/2011.

<sup>419</sup> Monde Mayekiso, Personal Interview, 23/8/2010

areas of Kaya Mandi along the slopes of the Papegaaiberg preserve and is technically off limits to development.

Another aspect that compounds the problem is the construction of RDP houses. The RDP houses that have been constructed and assigned to individuals have not always been up to standard or expectation.<sup>420</sup> It is not uncommon to find individuals who live in informal housing and own another home. Subsequently, instead of eliminating a shack by building a house, the problem just becomes larger.

The problem has also been exacerbated by fires that have periodically struck, most notably in 2005, and resulted in approximately a thousand people becoming homeless.<sup>421</sup> This forced the municipality to provide temporary shelters for individuals on areas of land that had been marked for more proper development. Unfortunately these temporary shelters have now become a more permanent solution.<sup>422</sup>

Despite the ongoing housing dilemma Kaya Mandi has, for the most part, settled down after the turbulent 1980 s and 1990s. There has been a rebound of community life and development projects are continually launched. The one problem that has no easy solution at the moment is the lack of space. This is not a new problem in Kaya Mandi but one that increasingly needs to be addressed.

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<sup>420</sup> Thandiswa Mbobo, Personal Interview, 20/5/2010;

Nantoe Ginsi Gazi, Personal Interview, 15/11/2010.

<sup>421</sup> "Kayamandi fire leaves a thousand homeless," *IOL News*, 1 Jan. 2005.

WEB. 5 Apr. 2011. <http://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/kayamandi-fire-leaves-a-thousand-homeless-1.232061>.

<sup>422</sup> Nantoe Ginsi Gazi, Personal Interview, 15/11/2010.

## Conclusion

It is interesting that this history has not been addressed in a comprehensive manner until now. The fact that a major riot took place in 1960 so close to the foremost proponent of apartheid, Stellenbosch University, and has never been addressed is surprising. Although the 1960 riot was the only major event in Kaya Mandi, life was certainly not easy for its residents the rest of the time. Despite the difficulties the residents have faced throughout their history they are strong and proud of their home. Even though many of the older residents resent the changes that have taken place over the last thirty years due to the massive influx of people, they are proud. There are certainly many changes that still need to take place many of which are not new concepts.

From what has been depicted in this history, it is obvious that the single most dominant issue in Kaya Mandi has always been housing. There has never been enough housing in Kaya Mandi and the problems were only compounded through legislation that artificially controlled population movements. As a result the housing issue has been the most decisive political and social issue. It helped fuel the pass law riots in 1960, led to payment boycotts, mistrust in local government from the early 1980s, and the huge shift towards informal housing.

When South Africa had its first fully democratic elections in 1994 there was a large shift of power to the ANC. This also happened in Kaya Mandi where near universal support for the ANC was seen. However, it did not happen in the Stellenbosch Municipality as a whole. The reason for this was population size. Despite the extreme growth of Kaya Mandi and other largely Black areas they were still the third most populous group behind Whites and Coloureds who had by far the largest amount of people.<sup>423</sup> The Whites and Coloureds formed a voting bloc that allowed for the NP and subsequently the DA to maintain mayoral positions from 1994 to 2006.

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<sup>423</sup> Stellenbosch Municipality, 2011 IDP. Although the nearest census was in 1996 it probably provides a fairly accurate representation of the 1994 demographics.

It was not until 2008 that Stellenbosch saw its first mayor come from Kaya Mandi, Patrick Swartz. He, just like Kaya Mandi's first mayor Victor Myataza, has been a lifelong resident from the family quarters of Kaya Mandi. He was a member of the Kayamandi Community Alliance (KCA) that had formed a coalition with the ANC putting him into power. The KCA was formed prior to the 2000 local elections as an alternative to the ANC which was seen to be out of touch with the local community, largely as a result of accusations of fraud and corruption associated with the allocation of new homes.<sup>424</sup> The KCA never gained a high percentage of votes but clearly maintained an important stance as demonstrated by Swartz being elected mayor. However, the KCA and Patrick Swartz had a series of political issues between one another and in general. Patrick Swartz and Deputy Mayor Cameron Mcako (ANC) were both removed from office in 2010 as a result of fraud allegations.<sup>425</sup> This, in part, helped to bring the DA back into the mayoral office in the elections of 2011.

Stellenbosch Municipality has also maintained a highly segmented society. Black residents live in largely the same areas they did under apartheid as do Coloureds and Whites. There is very little formal community integration, though steps are being taken to change this. There are two main reasons that integration will have to happen. One is ideological and the other is practical.

Ideologically Stellenbosch Municipality would like to create greater social integration to fulfil the vision of South Africa as a Rainbow Nation. Practically, the population of Stellenbosch is expanding quickly and communities will be forced to mix because of the lack of available land.<sup>426</sup> Kaya Mandi, specifically, has seen some of the worst overcrowding. This is the result of the massive influx of individuals that has taken place since the early 1980s. This

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<sup>424</sup> Shumi Ndlebe, Personal Interview, 7/12/2010.

<sup>425</sup> "Ex Mayor Wants Job Back" *IOL News*, March 16, 2010, WEB. Apr. 4 2011. <http://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/ex-mayor-wants-job-back-a-year-later-1.476521>.

<sup>426</sup> *Stellenbosch Municipality*, 2011 IDP.

influx is defined by factors that both push and pull people to Kaya Mandi. People are pushed towards Kaya Mandi because of the poor situation in their current residence. This can mean the lack of opportunities provided in the Eastern Cape and low paying jobs or even fear associated with living in Khayelitsha. Kaya Mandi pulls people towards it because it is known for having jobs and safety.

It is the combination of these push-and-pull factors that have resulted in Kaya Mandi looking drastically different from the period of 1940 until 1980. The problem of space is not limited to Kaya Mandi, but is indicative of many poor urban environments in South Africa today. Additionally, Kaya Mandi is not suffering alone. Even within the bigger district municipality other areas also experience these problems. According to the 2010 Stellenbosch Municipality Household Analysis, there are approximately 7,550 informal housing units in Kaya Mandi, 1,500 in the Langrug section of Franschoek, 650 in Klipmuts, and approximately 600 more spread out in the other subsections of Stellenbosch such as Jamestown.<sup>427</sup> As a result Stellenbosch Municipality has created several short and long term programs to develop these areas.

What this also means is that Kaya Mandi is truly no longer a separate entity from the rest of Stellenbosch. It shares in the successes and failures of Stellenbosch as a whole. This is another reason that community integration will be important in the future.

For Kaya Mandi there have been significant strides made especially since the year 2000. It has seen the development and completion of housing projects in Costa Land, Snake Valley, Watergang, and Thubelisha. Additionally, there has been a large influx of charitable organizations that have moved in to help reenergize and redevelop the community. Additionally, the municipality has taken steps towards development beyond simply building houses. This has resulted in the construction of the Kayamandi Mall, the Kayamandi Economic

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<sup>427</sup> "Stellenbosch Municipality Annual Report 2009-2010" Stellenbosch Municipality, January 2011, WEB. April 4, 2011, <http://www.stellenbosch.gov.za/jsp/util/document.jsp?id=3732>.

and Tourism Centre, and the nearly completed Kayamandi Stadium. The goal is to redevelop the sense of community that was devastated by the massive influxes in the 1980s and 1990s; something that many new residents of Kaya Mandi do not even know existed.

Stellenbosch is a unique place thanks to its highly profitable and expensive agricultural land signified by the Stellenbosch Wine Route. This has made it a popular tourist destination and helped to retain its small town feel. However, with the expansion of Stellenbosch as a whole, greater densification will need to take place. For residents of Kaya Mandi, the most densely packed area of Stellenbosch, this is not seen in a favourable light. Former Mayor of Kaya Mandi, Monde Mayekiso, echoes a sentiment felt by many within the community. He hopes to never see flats in Kaya Mandi and believes there is more than enough space for everyone to have their own home.<sup>428</sup> While there is space within the Stellenbosch municipality at large there may not be enough space in Kaya Mandi itself.

There will be many difficult choices to make and problems that will continue to emerge in the following years. This includes the housing dilemma defined by the lack of space for expansion, crime, unemployment and also the inadequacies of an educational system that is vital for the future. However, progress is being made even if it is not as fast as some would like. The problems are also being looked at from a variety of different angles and different groups. There is no one solution that will fix everything. Instead it will be the people from Kaya Mandi itself who will find the solutions to the problems because they are a strong and resilient group.

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<sup>428</sup> Monde Mayekiso, Personal Interview, 23/8/2010.



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